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SECOND VOLUME.

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COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION

FOR 1850—51.

EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

JOSIAH W. GIBBS.

CHARLES BECK.

ARTICLE I.

SHABBATHAI ZEVI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

BY

REV. WILLIAM G. SCHAUFFLER,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN TURKEY

(Read October 21, 1849.)



## SHABBATHAI ZEVI AND HIS FOLLOWERS.

[The Committee of Publication, finding it impossible to reduce the orthography of all oriental words which may occur in this Journal, to a uniform system of their own, have adopted the principle of leaving the orthography in each paper as they find it, except where there is a manifest oversight.]

THE followers of Shabbathai Zevi are, properly speaking, a Jewish sect. Scattered fragments of this singular body of religionists still exist in Christian countries on the continent of Europe, and are reckoned among the Jews. They are, however, utterly abhorred by the Jews, as chargeable with the most damnable heresies and practices. Little is known of their true tenets. Those of them who are living in Turkey profess Mohammedanism; they send their children to Mohammedan schools, dress and conduct themselves like Mohammedans, (except that they do not go to the Mosques,) and enjoy the civil privileges connected with the profession of Islam. The moral character of those who live in Turkey is unimpeachable. Drunkenness, lying, profanity, adultery, and the like, are unknown among them. On the subject of taking an oath, they cherish the principles of the Quakers. In this particular, however, they are not alone. The religious history of such a body cannot be uninteresting, especially if it be true, (which is said of them by some,) that their tenets are akin to the doctrines of Christianity. This would seem highly probable from the character of those Rabbinic works which have been in the highest esteem among them from the very beginning of their sect, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the sequel. But of the truth of the assertion I was satisfied by a communication, addressed to me not long ago by one of their chief men, in which the writer makes a simple and candid statement of some of the articles of their faith. I have the more confidence in the candor of his statement, as he was cautious enough, neither to write the paper himself, nor to sign it. It was dictated by him, while surrounded by others

of his sect, to a person of another religion, in whom I have reason to place the utmost confidence, but who, being no Mohammedan himself, could not be admitted in a Mohammedan court of justice as a witness against one professing Islam. Thus, while the true author of the paper remained perfectly uncommitted, he had no reason to hide any thing that may have appeared to him important to be mentioned. So far as I know, this paper exhibits the only authentic confession of faith of this singular sect, extant beyond its own little circle. Its members naturally publish nothing to the world, least of all those of them who profess the Mohammedan religion. To my knowledge, there is but one book of their sect known to the public. This purports to be an historical account of it by one of them whose name was Abraham Konki, אברהם קונקי, but it is said to be merely a collection of senseless miraculous legends of their pretended Messiah, and of his prophet Nathan. I myself never saw the book. These considerations led me to translate the communication in question from the original Turkish. But as this sect is so very little known in America, I thought it best to improve this opportunity for presenting the reader with a brief account of its origin.

Shabbathai Zevi was the third and youngest son of Mordecai Zevi, a petty merchant in Smyrna. He was born in 1625, and distinguished himself early, by a most extraordinary acquaintance with the Talmud, which he had mastered at the age of fifteen. He proceeded to the Kabbala, which he finished in about three years. Being eighteen years old, he became a regular Hakam or Rabbi. He immediately began to lecture in public on the Kabbala, and thousands flocked together, even from distant places, to listen to his superior wisdom. He paid great attention to ablutions, and ascetic severities, such as fasting, etc. Contrary to the habits of the Jews, he married late. He had passed his twentieth year when he espoused the most beautiful girl in Smyrna. However, as he never approached his wife, he was obliged by her father to divorce her, which he did soon after the marriage ceremonies. This singular proceeding he repeated, naturally always with the same result. Meanwhile, he carried his religious austerities farther every day, and multiplied his washings: and yet his health appeared perfect, and his personal beauty was extraordinary.

At the age of twenty-four, he began to disclose to his more confidential disciples that he was the Messiah, the son of David. He pretended to know the true pronunciation of the name Jehovah, יהוה, and pronounced it publicly. The Session of Rabbis warned him not to do so, and being disobeyed by him, excommunicated him, declared his assassination to be a good work, and agreed to pay the murderer's forfeit due to the Turkish Treasury, from their public funds.

Shabbathai Zevi now fled to Salonica, where he was received with honor, subsequently warned as in Smyrna, and ultimately anathematized. Athens, Alexandria, Cairo, and finally Jerusalem, became in turn places of refuge for him. At the latter place he remained several years, lecturing publicly, and fasting constantly, which much increased his renown for sanctity. In Gaza he made the acquaintance of a German Jew named Nathan Benjamin, in whose family he remained several weeks. This was on his journey to Jerusalem, but it ought to be said here, that his introduction to, and temporary residence in, the family of Nathan, are not as authentic as most facts of his history. Be that however as it may, after Shabbathai Zevi had spent a few years at Jerusalem, Nathan Benjamin appeared suddenly in the character of a prophet, and said, "A man of Smyrna, called Shabbathai Zevi, is the true Messiah. He will redeem Israel from the yoke of bondage. The two fast-days, the 17th of Tammuz and the 9th of Ab, are no more to be kept. The Messiah is born, and will soon appear, and place the diadem of the Sultan on his own brow, as may be proved from the Kabbala, etc., etc." He wrote letters to the Rabbis of the land, saying that the Messiah would disappear for some time, to meet Moses, who was risen from the dead in the country Sambation, to marry Rebecca, the daughter of Moses, and in company with him to bring the ten tribes across the river of that name. The Messiah was to enter Jerusalem upon a lion which came down from heaven, the tongue of which was a seven-headed serpent, spitting fire, slaying multitudes by the way on every side. After his entrance, God would let down from heaven a temple made of gold and precious stones, the Messiah would offer sacrifices, the resurrection of the dead would then take place, etc., etc. A tremendous excitement was produced in the minds of the Jews.

Meanwhile, Shabbathai Zevi continued to lecture at Jerusalem, and married again, as formerly, while his brothers, residing in Smyrna, secretly urged his Messianic claims, and not without success. On a sudden, at Jerusalem, in 1665, Shabbathai Zevi publicly proclaimed his own Messiahship. Rabbinic opposition arose in Jerusalem, and every where, and he fled again to Smyrna. In Constantinople, he was condemned by a convention of thirty-five Rabbis. Notwithstanding this, he was received at Smyrna like a God. In the streets, many Jews prostrated themselves when he passed, and kissed his feet. His public discourses were listened to with rapture. Hundreds accompanied him, as a kind of *cortège*, wherever he went. A deputation from Aleppo waited upon the new Messiah. The prophet Nathan also arrived, and preached his Messiahship. For many nights the excited multitude, headed by Shabbathai Zevi, or by Nathan, made processions through the streets; Hebrew hymns were sung, till about midnight, and the rest of the time till morning was devoted to reading at home. The opposition of the Rabbis of Smyrna was in vain. The influence of Shabbathai Zevi was so great, that many of them fled for their own lives. He was master of the Jewish community there. His house was a palace crowded with applicants for a short audience, and so great was their number that many of them were obliged to wait several weeks for their turn, as the Messiah would see only forty or fifty persons a day. In all synagogues, prayer was made for him, the forms of public prayer having been altered. Instead of the Sultan, Shabbathai Zevi was blest in the public prayers on the Sabbath.

Now, the religious epidemic spread like wildfire. Men, women and girls prophesied. Rabbi Mose Keruel, at Constantinople, had convulsions, danced, and extemporized Hebrew poetry in the later corrupt dialect of the Kabbala; and all he said, or sung, was carefully preserved by two amanuenses, like the ecstatic effusions of a Mohammed. Nearly the whole community of Jews in Constantinople was in flames. The unbelievers preserved a prudent and necessary silence.

In 1666, Shabbathai Zevi proceeded to Constantinople, to present himself to the Sultan. His blind adherents had urged this ruinous measure. At that time no steamer ran between Constantinople and Smyrna. He was five weeks

tossed upon the waters by contrary winds, without being able to command them "Peace, be still." On his arrival in Constantinople, he found that the Sultan was absent in Adrianople. Immediately, he was surrounded with admirers, almost worshippers.

At last the Sultan took cognizance of the matter, and sent orders for the apprehension of Shabbathai Zevi. After an interview with the Grand Vezir, he was sent to Kutayah as a prisoner of State, his friends being permitted to wait upon him. One of the original narratives of his life states that he was beaten, and confined in prison. But all this was explained by his followers as one of the most certain proofs of his Messiahship, while visitors and presents without end convinced him that the interest in his person was not impaired, and he continued his arrogant claims. The 9th day of Ab, from having been a day of fasting, became a day of rejoicing, because it was the birthday of the new Messiah. Rycaut, who himself collected at the very time the most accurate information as to the nature and extent of this strange excitement, says, "In all places from Constantinople to Buda, (Pesth,) in Hungary, I perceived a strange transport in the Jews, none of them attending to any business, unless to wind up former negociations." In Salonica, "all business was laid aside," he says, "no one worked, or opened shop, unless to clear his warehouse of merchandize at any price." This may give us an idea of the effect produced by this wonderful character, and his arrogant and adventurous proceedings. The crowd of his visitors is said to have been so great that a dearth ensued in the city of Kutayah. The autumn of 1666 now set in. All the time that Shabbathai Zevi lived in Kutayah, his followers indulged the most extravagant hopes, and their preparations for the triumph of their cause were not at all behind their thrilling anticipations. While he himself lived like a prince, his followers were constant in their ascetic exercises and austerities, in order to prepare themselves for the expected sinless and glorious kingdom of their Messiah. Their love of money vanished as vapor before the rising sun; all unclean animals were carefully removed from their dwellings; the copies and portions of the Law possessed by them, worn, or put into their door posts, were carefully re-examined, and all mistakes removed;



beneficence was practiced; schools were opened, and supported; and every one prepared for the appearance of Elijah, the fore-runner of the Messiah, and not a few had already seen him, told the story, and poured oil upon the general conflagration of the Jewish mind.

But another great character appeared upon the stage. Rabbi Nehemiah, sent from Poland for the purpose, arrived, disputed with the pretended Messiah for three days, and charged him repeatedly and publicly with being an impostor. Rabbi Nehemiah was a great Kabbalist. A great excitement among the Jews of Kutayah was the consequence. They would have torn the hated sceptic to pieces, with his companions, had he not declared himself a Mohammedan, and thus saved his own life and that of his train. But the contest did not end here. Rabbi Nehemiah requested the Grand Vezir to send him to Adrianople, to warn the Sultan against this deceiver. This was done. Nehemiah had an audience with the monarch, and the result was, that Shabbathai Zevi was summoned to appear before Mohammed IV. But in all cities, prayer was made for him, and a great company followed him to the Imperial residence. He was escorted to the Sultan by four officers. I will relate this memorable audience in the words of one of the original narrators of these events, who was an eyewitness of all that came under the observation of the excited public.

"The Sultan sent four messengers to bring Shabbathai Zevi to him, and they brought him, and he stood before him. And he did him great honor; for the custom of the kingdom of Ishmael is that, when an ambassador of another king comes to appear before the Sultan, he is not permitted to see his face, but the Sultan speaks with him only from behind a curtain. With Shabbathai Zevi he spoke face to face. Now when Shabbathai Zevi came before the Sultan, he fell upon his face to the ground, and bowed himself, and the king commanded him to rise up; and he placed himself upon his knees. And the Sultan spake to him and said, 'Behold, I have heard much concerning thee, that thou art a man of God, and that thou desirest to redeem Israel from their captivity, and to bring them to Jerusalem, which is in my country. Speak the truth in this matter. If thou art truly a messenger of the God of Abraham, as

Moses and Aaron were true messengers, then do a miracle before me, as they did before Pharaoh and his servants. Then shall my hand be with thee, and I will give thee help and protection in all my Empire, and will acknowledge the Jews as my brethren. And now answer my question."

"And Shabbathai Zevi answered, with a trembling heart, and said, 'My lord, the Sultan, I am a Jewish Rabbi. I fear the great God, the God of Abraham, from my youth till now. As to what men are saying concerning me, that I am the Messiah, when it shall come to pass at the time accepted by the great God, the question will be settled, whether it shall be accomplished by my hands, or by those of another man. This is known to our God.' When the Sultan heard his words, he was wroth, and said, 'If it be true, according to thy words, that thou fearest God, I will prove thee, as thy father Abraham was proved.\* I will order that thou be stripped of thy clothes, and will shoot three arrows into thee. If thou remainest alive, I also will acknowledge thee, and receive thee as the Messiah.' Then Shabbathai Zevi begged that he might escape, and obtain mercy, and not be subjected to the evil of being shot with arrows. For he feared that he should not stand in the trial. Then the Sultan said to him, 'If thou wilt be a Thogarmite, (Mohammedan,) like unto me, I will pardon all that thou hast done.' When Shabbathai Zevi heard this, he took an Ishmaelite turban from the head of one of the servants, and put it on his own head. With this the Sultan was well pleased, and the thing was right in the eyes of all his princes. And he remained in the king's palace, and ate with them their unclean meat, and defiled himself with their meat and their drink, and went to their houses of prayer."

This was on the 24th of September, 1666. The name of Shabbathai Zevi became Mehmed Effendi. The particulars of this interview of the pretender with the Sultan are variously stated by various persons, but the account of it which I have here translated appears plausible in every part. According to this account, Shabbathai Zevi answered shrewdly, and if he was acknowledged to be a Mohammedan merely for his placing a turban on his head, it is easy to see how

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\* According to the Koran, he was thrown into a furnace of fire by Nimrod, for refusing to practice idolatry, and came out of it unhurt.

he could justify the step before his own conscience, and still continue to keep up, to some extent, the expectations of the more ardent of his followers. However this may be, another Hebrew narrative, by Rabbi Tobiah Hakkohen, who was born in 1659, and practised medicine at Adrianople soon after this event, states "that, from the time when Shabbathai Zevi became a Mohammedan, many Jews, Mohammedans and Renegades joined themselves to him, and followed him; and that he still lived as he had used to do; ~~that~~ he prayed sometimes in the Jewish way, sometimes in the Mohammedan way, and did many other strange things; until the king saw that there were many who adhered to him, and apprehending that at last evil might result from it, sent him to a fortress, and showing himself still as his friend, gave him an office and authority in the fortress. In reality, they kept him there in order to see what would be his end." He soon became sick, and died September 10, 1676.\*

When Shabbathai Zevi had become a Mohammedan, the Rabbis of Constantinople pronounced the anathema upon all who should follow him. He wrote a number of letters, and other pieces, and sent them abroad, still urging his claims. His followers pretended that the true Shabbathai Zevi had ascended up to heaven, and that a mere similitude of him had professed Islam. The prophet Nathan fled to Damascus, but kept up an intercourse with the members of the sect in Smyrna and Broosa. In 1677, he came to Broosa, and a temporary excitement was produced in that city, and in Smyrna, which threatened to be dangerous to public order and security. But the curse of the Synagogue of Constantinople, and the quiet contempt with which the Turkish Government now treated the whole matter, induced the prophet to leave Broosa again, and go to Smyrna, where he kept himself for some time in great seclusion. Subsequently, he recanted his erroneous opinions, and was re-

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\* Some say that, at the request of the Rabbis of Constantinople, which they backed with an enormous present in money to the Grand Vezir, Shabbathai Zevi was removed to Bosnia, where he died of colic on the Jewish Day of Atonement. Others say that he was secretly beheaded. There can be but little doubt of his having died a violent death, considering the rage and the fear of the Rabbis, and the habitual "*auri sacra fames*" of the Turkish officers.

ceived again into the Jewish community. This was done in Venice. He was never afterwards heard of.

After the death of this remarkable man, his sect, instead of vanishing from the theatre of Jewish history, burst forth, and the ideas of Shabbathai Zevi were propagated far and wide. This shows that his claims to the Messiahship were by no means all that his disciples had learned from him. The charm of his doctrines was most wonderful. Not only were many of his enemies reconciled to him, even before his death, but when he was dead, his former greatest enemy, Rabbi Nehemiah, became a convert to his opinions, proclaimed his religion in many countries, bore the anathema of the Synagogues of Poland, suffered the severest privations for his new faith, and died at last, at Amsterdam, a blind beggar, admired for his talents and learning, but execrated for his religious peculiarities. The doctrines of Shabbathai Zevi found adherents, often very numerous, not only in the East, but along the northern shores of Africa, as far as Morocco and Fez, and spread abroad in Europe, from South to North, as far as the Jewish race was then tolerated.

As might have been expected, this sect, so destitute of a solid basis, slowly declined, notwithstanding the great triumphs it had at first; and at present its members are but little known as such. Many of the followers of Shabbathai Zevi who lived in Turkey, became Mohammedans; in other places they are looked upon, generally, as Jews, though hated and cursed by them.

But not to pursue the history of this singular Judæo-Mohammedan sect, it may be interesting to some readers, if we cast a glance at its literary basis. This is nothing else than the esoteric Jewish system of doctrine, called the Kabbala, or Tradition, by way of eminence, the chief and maturest fruit, as well as the most legitimate and satisfactory interpreter of which, is the Book Zohar, or rather the Zoharic literature, for the oracles of this system form a considerable collection of books.

Neither time nor space will permit me, here, to enter into an exposition of the Zoharic doctrines, so far as they have been dug up from beneath the rubbish and dust of Talmudic admixture, both in matter and form. I beg to direct the

reader who desires farther information on the subject, to Tholuck's *Commentatio de Ortu Cabbalæ*, printed at Hamburg, in 1837. This is, perhaps, the work most accessible to the American student, beside being of small compass and thorough research, while it also indicates the more extensive works on the subject; most of which, however, are sufficiently known to the biblical student, by the frequent references to them in able commentaries on the Scriptures.

Much has been said, and still more conjectured, of the age and origin of the Kabbala itself, aside from the question of the age of the Zohar. Thus much seems at present to be certain, that no traces of such an esoteric system can be found earlier than the eighth century. Still, if no such system is discoverable before, or even at that time, it would be hasty to conclude that no elements of it had existed before. When, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the people of Israel were scattered among the nations, and lived by the side of the Gnostics, the Neo-Platonists, the Sabæans, and the Christians, (and among the latter are especially to be considered those heterodox sects, and their ringleaders, who struggled hard, for three hundred years and more, to amalgamate at least the bases of the higher pagan philosophical systems with the words of Scripture, and especially to account for the existence of the visible world, and of moral evil, and to vindicate to Jesus a creatorship, a mediatorship, and a divine character, but still so as to vindicate and secure the absolute and exclusive real divinity to the Father,)—when such were their circumstances, and such the influences under which they lived, and when they were obliged to defend the Mosaic system against antagonists thus armed, and bold for the attack, how could the abler among this people remain indifferent to modes of speculation apparently so far superior to the altercations of common Rabinism? And when their external, political existence, and all the remains of their national greatness, had been so hopelessly shipwrecked as to put the idea of a restoration of Israel, at all events, to a very great distance, was it not natural, that reflecting Jews should gratefully seize upon such speculative elements as seemed to promise a spiritual indemnification, so to speak, for their irreparable material losses? The very sight of the Christian Church, which prospered in the midst of persecution, by the mere power of

truth, must have made them feel the value of moral principles, and the irresistibleness of intellectual superiority. And if they opened their sacred books, and looked into the Law and the Prophets, certainly there were truths scattered along in them, which, compared with the dogmas of Rabbinism, were as living flames compared with dry bones. And last, though not least, should we not expect to meet among them, occasionally, minds constituted like that of Bacon, or Leibnitz, of Jacob Boehme, or Swedenborg, inclined to independent thought, or endowed with powers of metaphysical intuition, true, or false? Speculations similar to those of the Zoharists are rife among the mystics and poets of the East, as every reader of oriental literature knows; the Jews lived in close contact with the Arabs, when their most important works were written; the golden age of Rabbinic literary effort, closing with the death of Moses Maimonides, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, was but little posterior to that of the Arabs; and the most important works in science and literature were carefully translated into the Hebrew, both from the Greek and from the Arabic. Under these circumstances, nothing would have been stranger, than that the Jews should not attempt to rear, on the divinely inspired basis of which they felt themselves possessed, a system of philosophical theogony, cosmogony, theosophy, and ultimately also of theology and ethics, that would bear a comparison with similar systems produced by Christians, orthodox or heterodox, and by heathen sages. And all this must have begun soon after the dissolution of the Jewish Commonwealth, if not before.

But to conclude, from this very plausible view, that the Kabbalistic books are of the age and the authorship to which they lay claim, would be very erroneous. This was done, to a very great extent, by most of the earlier critics; and the sentiments of the New Testament have often been proved, by quotations from these and other Jewish books, to have been entertained by the pious in Israel eighteen centuries ago, while in fact all the Kabbalistic books are of a comparatively recent date, and some of them can be shown to have been written under the acknowledged influence of Christianity; while other Rabbinic works, used for the same purpose, are as recent as the latter part of the seventeenth century of our era. Of no higher antiquity than

this, even, is the Kabbalistic book *Yalkut Rubeni*, so often quoted by Schoettgen and Wetstein, the author of which published it first in 1681, at Prague, where he was a teacher at that time.

The three Kabbalistic books which bear the marks of the highest antiquity, are the *Sefer Bahir*, the *Sefer Yezirah*, and the *Sefer Zohar*. The first I have never seen. It pretends to have been written by Rabbi Nehonyah Ben Hakkanah, who is said to have been the teacher of Rabbi Akiba, of famous memory, which, if it were true, would carry back the book into the century before Christ. But the very first mention made of the book by the Rabbis, occurs in the beginning of the fourteenth century. The great Kabbalist Rabbi Mose Ben Nahman, who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1267, knew nothing of the book. It made its first appearance in print at Amsterdam, in 1651. The *Sefer Yezirah* pretends to come down from Abraham, at least as to the matter of the book. But, although the Gemara mentions a book of this title, which must have existed as early as the fifth or sixth century, yet, considering the language, and the argument, of the Book *Yezirah* now in our possession, Dr. Zunz places it between the eighth and the tenth centuries.

We come to the *Sefer Zohar*, which may be considered the Talmud, if not the Bible, of the followers of Shabbathai Zevi. It pretends to have been written by Rabbi Simeon Ben Yochai, about the middle of the second century. But, to be brief, the result of investigations made by Rabbis, modern Jewish critics, and Christian writers, is that the original Book *Zohar* was composed by a certain Rabbi Mose Ben Shemtov, of Leon in Western Spain, who died in 1295. Ever since its appearance, this book has occasioned much ferment and dissension among the Jews, has given rise to other works covering the same ground, in the shape of commentaries, and in other forms, and has called forth the anathemas of various Synagogues, against suspected individuals; and it is still nourishing the spirit of opposition between the so-called Hasidim and the orthodox Rabbinites, among the Ashkenazec, or German and Polish Jews, in Europe, and the violent antagonism between the Doenmehs and the Jews, in Turkey.

The form in which Rabbi Mose Ben Shemtov presented his mystical cogitations to the world, is that of a commen-

tary on the Pentateuch. From the text of this, he takes occasion to speak of the most abstruse subjects within the compass of human speculation, in the department of religious philosophy. In this connection, we are taught a lesson on the nature of God. Abstractly considered, he is *En-sof*, or the Endless, Unlimited, or Absolute Being; and some carry the abstraction so far as to call him *Ain*, אֵין, or Naught, fearing that the idea of his being something, or some one, might involve a limitation, and therefore a negation, of his absolute existence. The *En-sof* reminds us of the *τὸ ὄν*, or the Being, of the Greeks, the highest conception to which their speculations reached, and which was so pertinaciously adhered to by many Christian writers, especially in the first three centuries, and which they labored to reserve for the first Person in the Trinity, but denied to the second and the third.\* This *Ain* anticipates the speculations of the philosopher Fichte, who denied even the attribute of existence to God, to guard the absoluteness of his character; and especially those of the Hegelian school of the left side, or the New Hegelians, whose God is *Ain*, Naught, until he gets his precarious concrete existence in the human individual, while his eternity is nothing but the continuance of our race. Then follow the ten *Sefiroth*, of which the Kabbalists themselves give us explanations differing from each other. They are divided into three, and seven. According to some, the first three are absolutely spiritual, and form what may be called the Kabbalistic Trinity, and the following seven are divine attributes. According to others, all the ten *Sefiroth* are attributes of the *En-sof*, or *Ain*. Most probably, they represent a system of emanation. With this is connected their fourfold world, *Aziluth*, *Beriah*, *Yezirah*, *Asiah*, and the *Adam Kadmon*, who seems to be the first man, not the created concrete Adam of the Bible, but the essential ideal of humanity, as existing in the Divine mind, and involving the potential existence of creation, and of our race as the crown and ultimate purpose of it. I have neither time nor room for proof texts from the *Zohar*; they can be easily gathered from the well-known *Kabbala Denudata* of Rosenroth, and the *Theologia Soharica* of Sommer.

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\* See Dorner's *Lehre von der Person Christi*, as the chief work on this subject.



I will add here the names of the ten Sefiroth, because they may throw some light upon the communication which I shall presently introduce, (1.) The highest of the Sefiroth is the *I am*, or the *Highest Crown*; on the right of it, (for they are arranged in a sort of descending tree,) is (2.) *Jah*, or *Wisdom*; on the left, (3.) *Jehovah*, (here pronounced Elohim,) or *Understanding*; farther down, on the right, (4.) *Eloah*, or *Greatness*, on the left, (5.) *Elohim*, or *Power*; between these last two, a little lower, and perpendicular to the *I am*, is (6.) *Jehovah*, or *Beauty*; farther down, on the right, (7.) *Jehovah of Hosts*, or *Victory*, on the left, (8.) *God*, (Elohim,) *of Hosts*, or *Honor*, יהוה; between these last two, a little lower, and perpendicular to the *I am* and *Jehovah*, is (9.) *El Hai*, or the *Living God*, or *Foundation*, and just below that, stands alone (10.) *Adonai*, or *Lord*, or *Kingdom*. Of these, the four central and perpendicular Sefiroth would be, according to some Kabbalists, (1.) the *I am*, God Supreme, (2.) *Jehovah*, or the Messiah, as uniting Greatness, also called Mercy, and Elohim, or Power, also called Severity, and exhibiting their harmony in his person, (3.) the Living God, or Foundation, as being the foundation of the Church, and of all the divine knowledge she possesses, and (4.) *Adonai*, or Lord, or Kingdom, representing the Church herself, with God indwelling in her as Lord actual, and reigning in his kingdom, which she is. Many doubts might be entertained as to the correctness of this interpretation. The terms designating the ten Sefiroth are obviously capable of a great variety of mystifications. Let it not, however, be thought an objection to the correctness of the above exposition, that it is too Christian. The confession of faith which the Zoharists laid before the Bishop of Kamenietz, in South Russia, in 1760, or a little after, and upon which they received a promise of toleration, exhibits the following articles: I. What God revealed in his Law, rightly understood, according to the tradition, (probably the Kabbala, not the Talmud, which they had just burned publicly,) must be received. The worship of God must be the result of our knowledge of him, otherwise it is a dead work. II. The doctrines of Moses and the Prophets have a hidden sense, beside the obvious and literal, and from that hidden sense flows that knowledge of God. III. The comments of the Talmud are full of errors, and lead to immorality. IV.

There is one God, Creator and Preserver of all. V. God manifests himself in three Persons, (probably, in their minds, פנים, or faces, which leaves room for a definition widely differing from the meaning of *ὑπόστασις* in Greek, or *person* in English.) VI. God revealed himself on earth as man, (probably the Adam Kadmon, as indwelling in Adam before the fall;) he laid aside this form after the fall; but he took it again afterwards, for the purpose of an atonement. VII. Jerusalem will never be rebuilt; no carnal Messiah is to be expected; but God will once more appear in human form, to deliver all men from sin. This is doubtless the most favorable exposition of their tenets, made to suit the taste of the Bishop. It remains true, however, that they have very much in common, in their views of the Divine Being, and of the person and character of the Messiah, with the Ebionites, the Nazareans, the Valentinians and other Gnostics.

I now give the promised communication. Writing, as I do, under the pressure of other avocations, I shall probably add but little to it, by way of elucidation. Some of its mysterious hints I do not comprehend; but I hope that what is intelligible of it, may still prove enough to reward its perusal.

The only thing I have to add, in order to place this paper in its proper light, is, that the Messiah so often referred to in it, was declared orally, by the author of it, to be Jesus of Nazareth, and not as we might have suspected, the leader of their sect, namely, the famous Shabbathai Zevi.

O ye truth-seeking men! As mine ears have heard a few words concerning you, and my heart has rejoiced, I also, one of those known to you, have in some sort advanced one word out of a thousand.

A kingdom divided by a water has become two, so that from each shore of its division I make known to you a little word.\*

I hope that with (hearing) thus much, if any man has his eyes in his head, his heart will rejoice.

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\* The sense of this paragraph, which is expressed very awkwardly and obscurely, I do not understand.

Now, first, it is to be known, that the knowledge of wisdom is a garden, which is called Paradise. And in this garden-like world there have entered four (kinds of) persons upon an Unknown, (a mysterious existence). One died, another became deranged, a third denied the faith; but one entered in peace, and went out in peace. On this account, one of the teachers says, "Blessed is he who enters in peace, and goes out in peace."\*

Behold, this garden is the Book of God, which consists of forty-eight *bahir* and five volumes, so that it makes fifty-three.† In reference to that, it is said, "God planted a garden." As for the first garden, its computation is fifty-three.‡ This proves that that garden is a book. And in this garden there are found fifty kinds of eatable fruit, because the word earth makes fifty;§ therefore it brought forth according to its power, and learned men have taught that there are fifty kinds of eatable fruit-trees. This may appear much, but what remains of them, now, follows the number thirty, and these thirty are divided into three divisions, of ten kinds each. So that first come apples, raisins, figs, and fruits like unto these, which are eaten entire. These are ten. The second kind numbers ten, namely, filberts, almonds, walnuts, and such like, and what is eatable in them is within a shell. The third kind numbers ten, namely, dates, plums, olives, and such like. They are also ten, and that which is eatable of these is outside of a shell, (or stone). All these together are thirty kinds; and although they are three tens, they are divided into three kinds. And there are in the world thirteen kinds of herbs; there are indeed many others besides, still these are superior. And there are seven other kinds of food. All these make fifty in number. In reference to all these the true Lord God Most High commanded our father Adam, that he might eat of all the

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\* This little allegory reminds us of the *Tabula Cebetis*. The quotation may be from Psalm cxxi. 8.

† What this division of the Old Testament means, I do not understand; nor do I know what to make of the expression "*bahir*," for the connection in which it stands excludes any reference to the Kabbalistic Book *Bahir*, mentioned above. There is probably a mistake, here, in the original, which I am unable to rectify.

‡ The word for garden, גן, *gan*, stands in the Hebrew numeral system for 58, being 3, and י, 50.

§ The word for earth, אדמה, makes 50.

trees in the garden. There are of eatable trees fifty kinds, which are all in the garden of wisdom. Behold, my friend, and know, that however many prophets, and wise men, and perfect men, have come, they have all eaten of the delicious fruits of the trees of this garden; some of one kind only, some of five, some of fifteen, according to the ability of each. But Moses attained to forty-nine kinds, that is, one less than fifty. But as for the fiftieth, which is wheat, also called bread, none but he whom God hath sent knows, or can eat, that bread. Therefore said Adam, "I have eaten, and I shall eat." Adam, by eating this, (probably the fiftieth kind,) did sin; but the one coming after him, the Messiah sent of God, he, making up for that sin, saved the world from the power of the enemy, and from his captivity. Behold, my friend is after a significant vision, as it were. These words are a kind of vision. Blessed is he who understands the significancy of it!

And the Messiah, by his own power, has pardoned and remitted all manner of sins, and by the waters of his fountain, has purified our souls; has made known and manifested to us, afterwards, the Creator of the earth and the heavens, and thus has made our souls to be, again, gifted and happy. For this is clear, namely, the soul is spiritual, and therefore nothing can make it happy, except the knowledge of the true God. If thou askest the question, whether, if a man should perform a good action, his soul is not rendered happy by it? (the answer is,) This is true; but the good deed of the man came from his knowing God. If a man does not know God, no good action will ever come from him. It is a deliberate word; a good work comes from the knowledge of God, and if a man should say, I know God, without believing in the Messiah, this is beyond question contrary to the truth. We must first believe in him, then, by his kindness, learn to know God, to know him and to serve him. And that the faith in him whom he has sent, comes from knowing him, (God,) is clear from this, that the Lord God has thus said, "From the trunk of Jesse a rod shall come forth, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. The Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the Spirit of wisdom and of understanding, the Spirit of counsel and of might, the Spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord."\* Behold,

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\* Isaiah xi. 1, 2.

the Spirit is four-fold, and the Second Verse says of this Spirit, "The Spirit of God moved upon the deep." When the worlds were not yet, that Spirit was, and of this Spirit the void (chaos) was full; he laid hold upon what was intangible; darkness became light. With this Spirit was the First, (Adam?) and so also was the Last. Therefore it is said, "The first represents the last." And besides this it is said, "The Spirit, (wind,) comes from the four winds."\* The explanation of this word is, that the excellent name of the Lord Most High, יהוה, has four letters. From these four letters comes this Spirit. The Lord declares, and says, "Behold, as for him who is sent from God, unto him will I give this Spirit;" he says, "I will pour out my Spirit upon you, and ye shall live."† How blessed are those who accept the Spirit of the Lord Most High, and believe in him! And on this account, the Lord has said, "He who is sent by me will delight in nothing, but in the fear of the Lord. He will not judge after the sight of his eyes, nor reprove after the hearing of his ears. But he will judge the poor according to righteousness, and administer the rights of the meek of the earth in justice. He will smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and slay, with the breath of his lips, the wicked."‡ And by this it is easily understood, that to believe in him is a duty, and that, without knowing him, there is no possibility of knowing God. And on this account, the possessors of knowledge, who are the family of perfection, have made a saying, namely, "With Adam I ate the (forbidden) meat; with Noah I fell into the full bowl; thrice I came into the world; once more I must come." Behold, my friend, and understand that saying by this text; for why does he say, "He made them male and female, and he called their name man, (אדם, Adam)?" As to this verse there is a question, for every man is a man, but he has still another name. But for that man whom he created with his own hands, he created no other name, but called him merely Adam, so that we might understand and know, from the nature of the very letters, that Adam, אדם, has three letters; the *alef*, א, is Adam, the *dal*, ד, is David, and the *mem*, מ, is the Messiah. Behold, the knowledge of this men receive; it is mysterious, passing from one understanding mind to

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\* Ezekiel xxxvii. 9.

† Id. xxxvii. 5.

‡ Isaiah xi. 3, 4.

another, and from one endowed with sight to another. It is a plain proof that the first one who was Adam, (man,) is that one; and afterwards comes from the stem of Jesse a rod, which is David; and the branch growing out of him is the one coming afterwards, the Most Holy.\* In reference to him, it is said, "I am the First," that is, I am that Adam, (man,) who is first of all,† and "I am the Last," that is, I came last of all; "and beside me there is no God,"‡ which means, beside me there is no one who makes God known. He it is who makes the Lord known to us. And the Lord has thus said, concerning him, "Therefore shall the Lord for his own sake give you a sign. Behold, a virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."§ O ye blind! open your eyes, and behold him. We have not said it, but the Lord has commanded it, and has called him "my righteous (servant)."/>¶ And he is that righteous one of whom he said, "The just one shall live by his faith."¶ A mysterious word! That "just one" is the Messiah, who is now alive by his faith, and who quickens and justifies all who are just, by this faith.\*\* And how blessed are all those who live by this faith! Concerning these, he has said, "Ye who cleave to your Lord, are safe." Now this means, indeed, that they are buried under the ground, but yet, however many departed with this faith, that they are even now alive, and shall never perish. And on this account, Solomon said, "I praise the dead, who have died already, more than the living, who are now in life."†† This means, as for those dead, who departed in the faith, their praise is greater than the praise of those who live, but have no faith. Therefore, if there be no faith in a man, there cannot possibly be any good works. And thou must know that faith is a tree; and therefore is its computation one with that of faith,‡‡ and faith is called the tree of life. And thus a verse says, "This is the tree of life to

\* Daniel ix. 24.

† אדם הראשון, the first Adam of the Kabbala.

‡ Isaiah xlv. 6.

§ Isaiah vii. 14.

¶ Isaiah liii. 11.

¶ Habakkuk ii. 4.

\*\* That is, who quickens and justifies, by this faith, all the righteous.

†† Ecclesiastes iv. 2.

‡‡ What manner of mysterious Rabbinic computation is referred to here, I do not know.



cerning belief in his Messiah, God has said, "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul delighteth; I have poured upon him my Spirit, that he may bring forth judgment unto the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor, lifting up his voice in the streets, cause it to be heard. The bruised reed he shall not break, and the smoking wick he shall not quench. He shall bring forth judgment unto truth. He shall not grow tired, (neglectful,) neither weary, (disgusted,) to put judgment in the earth, and the islands shall wait for thy law. And that Lord who created the heavens, and spread them out, and made the earth, and the things that grow therein, who giveth soul (breath) to the people upon it, and spirit to those who are in it, the Lord God, saith also, 'I, the Lord God, will call thee in righteousness, and take thee by the hand, and will preserve thee, and will give thee for a covenant to the people, and for a light to the Gentiles; that thou mayest open the blind eyes, and bring out the prisoner from the chains, and those that sit in darkness, from the prison-house. I am the Lord, this is my name. My glory will I not give to another, nor mine honor to idols.'"<sup>\*</sup> On this account, the Gospel also says, "Holy is he who cometh in the name of the Lord." And the Lord said, "This is my name." About this, the Lord has said, "The just one is the foundation of the world."<sup>†</sup> Whatever kind of burden exists, he has borne it upon himself, and taking upon himself the sins of all those who believe in him, he ever asks pardon for us from his Lord, (صاحب). And thus some have indicated, that God together with all things, constitutes one edifice. That just one is the foundation of that edifice; so that the edifice is indeed greater than the foundation, but the foundation is that which supports the edifice; and the foundation is the expositor.<sup>‡</sup> An edifice, without a foundation, is no edifice at all; this is plain. To say, there is a God, without that just one, is like saying, there is an edifice without a foundation, and is a lying testimony. It is necessary that we should first have faith

<sup>\*</sup> Isaiah xlii. 1-8.

<sup>†</sup> Which means the ninth Sefirah, called Foundation, and the Living God, and which represents, according to some, the Messiah. The tenth Sefirah is then the Church built upon him.

<sup>‡</sup> That is, the one making manifest the edifice.



in him; then, to say, "His God is,"\* will be a true confession. Behold, my friend, there are many passages found to this effect, that we should get a knowledge of him by believing in his Messiah; and whatsoever his Messiah has commanded, according to that we should serve him. And the Lord declares thus, "Ho, ye who are saved from among the nations, assemble yourselves and come, draw near. Those who carry the log of a carved idol, those who pray to a god that cannot save, have no understanding."† Now, if it be asked, To whom, gathering ourselves together, shall we draw near? he commands, "Assemble and draw near to him whom I have sent, the Messiah; for he whom I have sent, knows of me, and he will make it known to you, that I am God. And I have raised him up in righteousness, and will make his paths even. He will build my city, and he will make free, without price and without reward, those who are persecuted and bound, saith the Lord of hosts."‡ Behold, this one will open your eyes, and ye shall see and know. This is clear and obvious, that, as he said, "I have raised him up in righteousness," there is no other Messiah beside him who is raised up in righteousness. This Lord, (صاحب,) has "made his paths even;" he has also shown unto us those paths. And as concerning those paths, he has said, that his ways are ways of peace, and all his paths are paths of pleasantness; and in his ways are not found quarrels, nor evil or wicked works, at all. And as for that he said, "He will build my city," the city of God Most High is the Book of God, which is a city of knowledge. This book he has built up anew; and God proclaimed this, saying, Thus shall it be; and thus it has happened, and thus is our faith. And the persecuted, and the captives, the Creator of all, freeing them from Satan's power, has brought back. And now, my friend, he who will not listen to the explanation given of these passages, nor believe in his Messiah, nor by him know the Lord his Creator, that man is, beyond doubt, even now a bond-slave of Satan. "What is crooked cannot be made straight,"§ and in reference to those men, God has said, "Make known, and cause them to draw near, yea, let them take counsel; who is he

\* That is, he has a God to reveal.

† Isaiah xlv. 13.

‡ Isaiah xlv. 20.

§ Ecclesiastes i. 15.

that declared this from former days, and made it known from that time? Is it not I, the Lord, and there is no God beside me!"\* And God said thus, "From the rising of the sun to the going down of it, let them know that there is none beside me; I am the Lord, and there is none beside me." Behold, this text is to thee a sign, that in these days, as it may be seen, they need to know the Lord in every part of the world, and to believe in his Messiah.

Thus much is sufficient. And God, in order to make himself known, has thus spoken, "I am the First, and I am the Last, and beside me there is no God." "I am the First" means, I have no father, for the father of any one is his senior, that is, there is none before me, who should be a father unto me; but I, the Lord, am the father of all those who know me. To use a comparison, it is just as with a silk-worm, which comes forth from the butterfly, and the butterfly is older than the worm, but the latter has in its turn produced the butterfly, and afterwards, remaining within that, (such being the design,) has gone abroad, in order to make itself known, and when it has gone abroad, has become two-winged. Behold, if thou takest the significance of *alef* in brief, it means that God is one. This is the meaning of *alef*. Behold, my friend, I have begun to speak to thee about the *alef*; but also about the other letters thou art in error. "I am the Last" means, after me there is none other who is come forth from me, and is like unto me, so that he might be my son, for the son is like unto his father; and therefore he has said, "To whom will ye liken me?" There is none other God like unto him. But us who have become like unto him, he has called sons. "There is no God like me" means, there is none who can be my brother, (fellow,)† for I am, and there is none like unto me, either before me, or coming after me, who might be my brother, (fellow). But ye know me, ye are my brethren. And thus a text speaks, saying, "For my brethren and for my companions, I will now say, 'Peace!'"‡ Behold, my friend, this is the God whom I know, and there is none besides. O my

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\* Isaiah xlv. 21

† Compare here Zechariah xiii. 7, and the meaning of עֲמִית, or fellow, in the Hebrew Concordance, and the reasoning of the writer may suffer very seriously.

‡ Psalm cxxii. 8.

friends, I have not seen you, nor known you, nor heard you, that I should make unto you a true (full?) confession. A man who confesses his faith, without seeing or hearing some thing (first), transgresses the command of God. If it be so decreed, and we meet one another by the compass I have here given, then we shall understand one another, and I shall inquire of the state of all who are on your side, far and near, together with peace and prayer. Amen.

I have nothing to add, except that the hint the writer has given, that farther disclosures might be expected upon a personal acquaintance, is well calculated to excite my curiosity. The manner of interpreting Scripture has doubtless appeared strange to some. The quotations are often made from memory; but a comparison of those adduced with Kieffer's translation of the Old Testament into the Turkish, has fully convinced me that the writer of the above communication must be in the habitual use of that version.

THE FIRST OF THESE THINGS, LEADS TO SEVERAL NOT UNINTERESTING reflections, as that Kieffer's version of the Bible into Turkish is probably far more extensively used than we are aware of; that the leader of the followers of Shabbathai Zevi, using the Turkish language, cannot be very familiar with the original of the Hebrew Scriptures; that consequently his flock understand little of it; and other like inferences.

ARTICLE II.

ACCOUNT OF A JAPANESE ROMANCE,  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION.

BY

WILLIAM W TURNER.

(Read October 24, 1849.)



## ACCOUNT OF A JAPANESE ROMANCE.

EVENTS are now in progress which clearly indicate that the energetic, intelligent, and in many respects interesting nation which people the islands of Japan—the Englishmen of Asia, as they have not inaptly been termed—will not be allowed to remain much longer in the isolated position which they have preserved for the last two centuries. The rapid settling of the northwestern portion of the American continent by the enterprising inhabitants of this country, must lead in the natural course of events to a speedy extension of the intercourse of Europeans and their descendants with the countries of Eastern Asia, among which Japan, in consequence of its prominent insular position, the abundance, variety, and desirableness of its natural productions, and the industry and ingenuity of its inhabitants, holds a most important rank. To the gradual but sure operations of this cause are to be added the efforts which **are** continually repeated from time to time by various **nations** to open an intercourse with the Japanese, dictated chiefly by commercial rivalry, and partly by scientific curiosity and missionary zeal.

The efforts of Americans in this behalf, in which we are most interested, have already assumed, during the last few years, a considerable degree of prominence; but before giving an account of them, it may be well to sketch very briefly, by way of introduction, the principal events attending the connexion of Europeans with Japan.

In the year 1542, the accidental discovery of Mendez Pinto laid Japan open to the Portuguese, who immediately began a commercial intercourse with that country. This led to the speedy introduction of the Jesuits, headed by the enthusiastic Xavier, who had great success in the so-called work of conversion.

In 1580, Spain and Portugal were united under one crown, which resulted in the introduction of Spanish merchants and missionaries into Japan, along with the Portuguese. Mutual jealousies, intrigues, and accusations were the consequence; which, with the insolent conduct of the new comers, and above all the interference of the priests in the political convulsions which agitated the country at the close of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, produced a gradual mistrust and dislike of the Roman Catholics, and of the Spaniards in particular, in the minds of the ruling powers. These feelings were heightened by the representations of the Dutch, who, having escaped from the bloody domination of Spain, extended their commercial speculations to Japan, and established a factory on the island of Firando in 1609; in which representations it is supposed they were joined by their fellow-protestants the English, who established themselves at the same place in 1613. After partial persecutions, an edict was issued in January, 1614, for the demolition of the Catholic churches, and the banishment of the priests.

In 1623, the English East India Company, finding their establishment at Firando a losing concern, abandoned it; and all subsequent attempts on their part to reopen the trade proved unavailing. In 1624, the Spaniards were banished forever, and the ports of Japan were closed against Europeans, with the exception of Nagasaki for the Portuguese, and Firando for the Dutch. Severer restrictions were also laid upon the Chinese and Corean traders.

In 1635, the Portuguese were confined to the artificial islet of Desima, constructed in front of the town of Nagasaki, to the great joy of their rivals, the Dutch. The armaments of their ships were now taken away while they were in port, and no one was allowed to speak to a native on religion, or to walk into the city without a guard. The following year was marked by the introduction of the famous ceremony of trampling on the cross. In 1637, the Portuguese with their priests were banished forever and forbidden to return; and after a series of bloody persecutions, and a battle in which the Dutch lent their aid to the government, Christianity, such as it was, was completely extinguished in Japan,—another proof added to those already on record that persecution, to effect its object, need only be sufficiently thorough.

In 1640, the suspicions of the Japanese against all foreigners, and especially all Christians, to which their recent experience had given birth, caused them to consign the Dutch to the prison of Desima, just emptied by the expulsion of the Portuguese. To this the Dutch submitted with a good grace, as they were now left in sole possession of the European traffic with Japan; and since that time, as is well known, their monopoly has never been disturbed. It is to the superintendants and physicians of the Dutch factory at Desima, to Kaempfer, Thunberg, Titsingh, Meylan, Fischer, Docff, and Von Siebold, that we owe nearly all our reliable knowledge of Japan for the past two hundred years. The annals of this factory, and the accounts of the host of hardships and annoyances to which its members are fain to submit for the sake of commercial advantages, at one time of great magnitude, though now insignificant, form a most curious chapter of history, which cannot be dwelt upon here.

The English have continued at intervals, down to the present day, their attempts to regain the footing in Japan which they soon saw they had too hastily relinquished. Their ships have been treated with varying degrees of hostility or kindness, at different times; but the result has uniformly been failure, hitherto. The attempts of the Russians and Americans to open a communication date only from the close of the last century, and they have not as yet been more fortunate. The promised account of the most recent and important visits made by American vessels will now be given.

In July, 1837, the ship *Morrison*, Capt. D. Ingersoll, was despatched by Messrs. Olyphant & Co., an American mercantile house at Macao, to return seven shipwrecked Japanese who had been residing there several months, and to make use of the opportunity, which it was hoped might thus be afforded, of producing upon the Japanese government a more favorable impression of the character of foreigners, and perhaps of inducing them to relax their anti-social policy. "In order to take advantage of any opening, a small assortment of cloths was put on board, and a great variety of patterns of different cotton and woollen fabrics, which, from their adaptation to a temperate climate, were calculated to attract the attention of the Japanese, and induce them to trade. A list of pre-



sents was added, consisting of a pair of globes, a telescope, a barometer, a collection of American coins, some books, and a few paintings, among which was a portrait of Washington. Documents explanatory of our object were drawn up in Chinese; one of which stated the names and residence of the seven men, and a few notices of their adventures; and another gave a short account of America, its commercial policy, that it possessed no colonies, and that the men were returned in a vessel of the country where they were wrecked; and a third gave a list of the presents, together with the proposition, that, if it met the approbation of the court, one of the party would remain in the country, to teach the meaning of the books. Dr. Parker accompanied the expedition, provided with a stock of medicines and instruments, and a number of anatomical plates and paintings, which he thought would attract the notice of a people who hold the healing art in high estimation. He was also furnished with a paper stating his profession, and his willingness to practice gratuitously on all who had diseases.\* Mr. S. Wells Williams and the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff were also on board. After an interesting visit to the islands of Lew-Chew, they anchored, on the 30th of July, in the Bay of Yedo. No intercourse however was permitted. On the following day, a brisk fire was opened upon the ship from the shore, and they were obliged to leave in haste. Another attempt made in the Bay of Kagosima met with a similar repulse: so that the vessel was compelled to return, bringing back the shipwrecked men with her; for after the attention these latter had excited, they dared not land in a secret manner, for fear of condign punishment by the authorities.†

The visit of the whaler *Manhattan* of Sag Harbor, Capt. M. Cooper, in 1845, was on a similar errand. In the month of April, as Captain Cooper was proceeding towards the whaling regions of the Northern Ocean, he touched at the barren island of St. Peters, a few degrees to the South-East of

\* *Chinese Repository*, vol. vi. p. 210.

† A full account of the voyage of the *Morrison*, in addition to that in the *Repository*, is given in *The Claims of Japan and Malaysia upon Christendom exhibited in Voyages made in 1837, &c.* By C. W. King and G. T. Lay. 2 vols. New York. 1839. The reader who wishes for a fuller narrative of the intercourse of Europeans with Japan than that given above, will find one well drawn up in the first volume of this work.

Nippon to look for turtle. He found on it eleven Japanese, who had been shipwrecked there some months before. Captain Cooper immediately formed the humane and patriotic design of proceeding at once to Yedo, in order to restore the shipwrecked men to their homes, and to make a strong and favorable impression on the government as to the civilization of the United States, and its friendly disposition towards the emperor and people of Japan; and while on his way he picked up eleven more men from a junk in a sinking condition. Captain Cooper was treated more civilly than his predecessor had been. Instead of being kept in the lower bay, and fired upon to make him hasten his departure, his vessel was towed up within a furlong of the capital, and the shipwrecked men were allowed to land. But neither the captain nor the crew of the Manhattan were allowed to go over the ship's sides. A triple cordon of boats kept the strictest watch over her, day and night. They were recruited with every thing of which they stood in need, and all remuneration was refused; but they were told in the most explicit terms never to come again, on any pretence, to Japan.\*

The next visit was that of the Columbus and Vincennes, under Commodore James Biddle, in 1846, made conformably to instructions received from Secretary Bancroft. The Commodore judged it most advisable to proceed at once to the Bay of Yedo, where the vessels arrived on the 20th of July. Before anchoring, they were boarded by an officer with a Dutch interpreter, to whom the Commodore stated that the object of his visit was "to ascertain whether Japan had, like China, opened her ports to foreign trade, and if she had, to fix by treaty the conditions on which American vessels should trade with Japan." Copies in Chinese of the French, English, and American treaties with China, were produced for the officer's acceptance; but he declined receiving them. The usual cordon of boats was established about the ships, and no one on board of them was allowed to go on shore. It was not till the 27th that an officer with a suite of eight persons came on board with the emperor's answer. It was to the effect that, according to the laws of the country, the Japanese were not allowed to trade with any but the Dutch and Chinese; and that consequently no

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\* See *Chinese Repository*, vol. xv. pp. 172-199.

treaty could be made with Americans. Every thing concerning foreign countries, they were told, was arranged at Nagasaki, and not there in the Bay. And, finally, they must depart as quickly as possible, and not come any more to Japan.

"I stated to the officer, (says Commodore Biddle in his despatch,) that the United States wished to make a treaty of commerce with Japan, but not unless Japan also wished a treaty; that I came there for information on this subject; and having now ascertained that Japan is not yet prepared to open her ports to foreign trade, I should sail the next day, if weather permitted." The ships accordingly took their departure on the 29th.\*

In June, 1848, fifteen men deserted in three boats from the whale-ship *Ladoga*, on account of bad usage. These men were taken into custody by the Japanese authorities, and were treated in very much the same manner as Golownin and his companions were. About a month after this event, a solitary individual threw himself on the coast of Japan, for the express purpose of obtaining a knowledge of the country and its language by a residence there. The young man who ventured on this hazardous enterprise was the son of Archibald McDonald, Esq., formerly in the employ of the Hudson Bay Company, at Port Colville, Columbia. He made an agreement with Captain Edwards, of the whaleship *Plymouth*, of Sag Harbor, to be left in a boat off the coast; and he effected the landing in safety on the 2d of July. He likewise was placed under surveillance; although his treatment, in consequence no doubt of his more prudent conduct, was better than that experienced by the men from the *Ladoga*.

On the 12th of February, 1849, the United States sloop of war *Preble*, Commander James Glynn, left Hong Kong for Nagasaki, for the purpose of rescuing these men, and returned on the 20th of May, with the thirteen survivors of the *Ladoga*'s crew, and Mr. McDonald.† By a letter from Mr. S. W. Williams to John R. Bartlett, Esq., published in the *Providence Journal*, in September, 1849, we are informed that Commander Glynn intends to recommend to the Presi-

\* *Niles's National Register* for March 20, 1847.

† See *Chinese Repository*, vol. xviii. No. 7.

dent to make a naval station at Lew-Chew. It is considered that the presence of a ship of war at Napa would necessarily impel the Japanese government to notice such an infringement of their territory. This would lead to a request on the part of the Captain at the station to know the exact authority which that government held over Lew-Chew, and what right they had to order him off; since the Chinese claim equal power over it, and Lew-Chew could not well belong to both. It is easy to imagine how these negotiations would open opportunities for future intercourse.

The best and most unanswerable argument in favor of using every righteous means for opening a regular intercourse between this country and Japan, as speedily as possible, is drawn from the fact that the vessels of the two nations frequent the same seas, and that consequently the accidents of navigation will often call for the exercise of benevolence on the part of both. The Japanese junks, owing to their imperfect construction, are often wrecked; and scarcely a year passes in which we do not read accounts of the rescuing of their crews, and their restoration to their native land, through the intervention of Americans. Such conduct deserves a better return than has been experienced by those Americans who have been cast upon the hospitality of the Japanese. Food and shelter, it is true, have been given them, and they have at last been allowed to depart; but the long and rigid confinement, the ceaseless questioning and watching, and the thousand other humiliations, annoyances, and privations, occasioned by the suspicions of their hosts as to the objects which may have brought the foreigners into their country, conspire to produce the attempt to escape, which is sure to end in recapture and additional severity. It has been conjectured, and not without considerable probability, that this harshness may be in part a retaliation for offences committed by American whalers. It is difficult otherwise to account for the barbarous treatment experienced by the Lawrence, Capt. Baker, of Poughkeepsie, which was wrecked near the Kurile islands, in May, 1846, only a year after Captain Cooper restored the twenty-two Japanese to their homes.\*

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\* See *Memoir Geographical, Political, and Commercial*, addressed to J. K. Polk, President of the United States. By A. H. Palmer.

The interests of humanity, then, demand that no efforts be spared to open and sustain a friendly communication between the governments of the United States and Japan, in order that improper conduct on the part of the seamen of one country, or the officials of the other, may be promptly made known and punished; and when this object shall have been secured, many solid advantages to both nations will necessarily ensue.\*

A very different, but not less important, means of becoming acquainted with this singular nation, are the attempts now making to obtain an accurate knowledge of their language, which, ever since the expulsion of the Portuguese, has been monopolized, like the trade, by the Dutch *employés* at Desima. One of the most successful of the few scholars who have as yet devoted themselves to this branch of study, is our distinguished fellow-member, Mr. S. Wells Williams, of Canton. Another is the celebrated missionary and linguist, the Rev. Charles Gutzlaff. They both accompanied the Morrison in her expedition to Japan; and both have made diligent use of the shipwrecked seamen, and such other means as they could command, to acquire a practical knowledge of this difficult tongue. The deep interest which Mr. Williams feels in every thing that can throw light on the condition of Japan, and the best mode of obtaining access to it, is shown by the number of articles on the subject inserted in the *Chinese Repository*, with which he has been connected for many years, and which, consequently, is the most complete and authentic source of information respecting that country, especially as regards recent events, that exists in our language. The ninth volume contains a translation by Mr. Williams of a curious Japanese treatise on the smelting of copper; and in the tenth volume he has inserted some valuable notes on Japanese orthoepy and orthography. He also had a fount of types cut in the simplest or *katakana* character, in the city of New York, when he revisited his native country in 1847.

Another scholar who has devoted himself with wonderful perseverance and success to the study of the Japanese,

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\* These are well stated in a *Letter to the Hon. John M. Clayton*, Secretary of State, enclosing a Paper geographical, political, and commercial, on the Independent Oriental Nations; and containing a Plan for opening, extending, and protecting American Commerce in the East. By Aaron H. Palmer. Washington, 1849.

is Dr. AUGUST PFIZMAIER, of Vienna; of whom I wish to speak more particularly. An interesting sketch of the career of this persevering genius is given in the Athenæum for April 25, 1846, from which I will extract a few particulars. Dr. Pfizmaier is the son of an innkeeper of Carlsbad, in which city he was born in 1808. At the age of nineteen, his passion for linguistic study had enabled him to master the principal languages of Europe, and then he set about acquiring those of the East. He began with the Turkish, from which he proceeded to the Arabic and Coptic. In 1839, he published a translation of the Turkish poems of Lamy; and in 1847, a Turkish Grammar, written in French. But for some years past, his attention appears to have been mainly devoted to the languages of Eastern Asia, the Chinese, Manchoo, and Japanese. The following letter, addressed by Pfizmaier to the writer of the article in the Athenæum, shows what had been the result of his Japanese studies, up to the time when it was written, and also the proficiency at which he had arrived in English composition.

“VIENNA, 1845.

“I have much pleasure in answering your letter addressed to me; and though my labors hitherto are not important enough to attract general notice, I hesitate not to give you the desired explanations. As to the Chinese, it is true that I formerly translated two longer [longish] pieces of poetry, but they are scarcely intelligible without the commentary; and their subject, etc., will prevent their ever being published without the original, and for the use of the scholars in Chinese, as the translation is in German. I will, if you wish, transmit you a specimen, (if you will pardon the venture,) translated into *English verse*, submitting it, as a first attempt, to your kind judgment. In the mean time, I have obtained from Paris a very rare work, known by the name of ‘Tso Chuen,’ which contains memoirs of the principal feudal states of China, that would serve as a most interesting addition to the history of that empire, from 1722, B. C., to Confucius’s time. As the Austrian Government has now taken care to get a *complete set of Chinese types*, there will be every hope of having this work printed, with a European translation, the first published out of China. You are somewhat in error when speaking of Japanese and Chinese as having a similarity. Many Chinese words have been, it is true, introduced into the former language; but by far the greater number of works are written in the pure and native idiom,

which has not the least resemblance to the Chinese, having its own alphabet, composed of a very large, almost unlimited, number of figures. Hitherto, only the works written in Chinese could be understood by European scholars, and even these, as translated by Dutch authors, could only be done through the medium of the interpreters of Nagasaki. All the lighter reading, such as novels, plays, poems, etc., have been quite inaccessible to the researches of the scholar; and one of the most eminent, Abel Remusat, endeavored in vain to get a knowledge, deeming it almost impossible to even compass the alphabet. Since Japan has attained so high a state of civilization, and the literature of the country might vie with any other in fertility, and, as I supposed, in originality, it struck and grieved me, not to have any approachable access to its treasures; and on investigation, I soon found that this was caused by the total want of any work deserving the name of a dictionary of the language. I therefore commenced to excerpt, for my own use, all the original lexicographical works of the Japanese within my reach, and by arranging alphabetically the words they contained, distributed according to subjects, I succeeded in setting down almost a complete dictionary; and with its help, I am now enabled to read Japanese books, though as yet with some trouble; exercise will, I hope, soon make my task an easier one. As to the characters, I can not only very pleasantly read them, but I have also engaged the Government printing-office to let cut the letters of the Firakana alphabets that are generally in use, so that Japanese works can now be printed at Vienna with *moveable types*. A specimen, consisting of a fragment of a Japanese romance, will, in a few weeks, leave the press; and I could now undertake the publication of whole texts, if the Government does not fear the expense. As to my dictionary, I need but translate the explanations into any European language, (the Japanese authors themselves render them in Chinese,) to have it ready for publication. I am still making additions, chiefly of words which I find in authors I am reading, so that it may be rendered as complete as possible. It contains, however, as it is, about 40,000 words, a number quite extraordinary; since the Vocabulary Japanese and English, by Medhurst, published at Batavia, 1830, only numbers 7,000, and that by Siebold, 1840, Leyden, (with an arrangement according to subjects, which makes it almost useless, and explanations chiefly in Chinese,) contains little more than 20,000 words. I intend to publish mine as soon as any Government grants me favorable terms. I trust, sir, to have given you the chief matter capable of interesting you as regards my Oriental studies, and am," etc.

His Japanese studies have since been prosecuted with such success as to enable him, in the year 1847, to publish a work, to introduce which to the notice of the English-reading public, is the immediate object of this paper. It is entitled:

*Sechs Wandschirme in Gestalten der vergänglichen Welt*, etc., i. e., Forms of the Passing World, in Six Folding-screens. A Japanese Romance in the original text, containing fac-similes of 57 Japanese Wood-cuts. Translated and edited by Dr. August Pfizmaier. Vienna, 1847.

The original work was printed at Yedo, from wooden blocks, in the year 1821. The author's name is Riutei Tanefiko, and that of the designer of the illustrative wood-cuts is Utakawa Toyokuni. The following explanation of the title is given in the preface. A Japanese proverb says, "Men and screens cannot stand straight," i. e., as the latter cannot be made to stand upright without being bent, so the former are unable to preserve perfect rectitude of character. The author has undertaken to prove that this proverb is erroneous, and his tale exhibits screens in forms of the passing world, i. e., human beings, of genuine uprightness. The expression, "*six* screens," refers to the six divisions of the book, each consisting of five double leaves, folded in the manner of a screen. The original work is printed in thirty double leaves, or, (as each leaf is printed only on one side,) sixty pages. Each of these pages, with the exception of two leaves, contains an illustrative wood-engraving, extending in most cases across two opposite pages.

Dr. Pfizmaier's edition contains a reprint of the original, and a German translation. It was his design to reproduce the former as exactly as possible, in form as well as in substance. Thus, the engravings are exact copies of the originals, the color of the ink is made to resemble that of India ink, and the paper and binding are imitations of the Japanese model. The title-page and the illustrations are executed in zinco-lithography, and the text is printed with moveable types, the first ever constructed in Europe for this language.\* They were prepared under the direction of Herr

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\* It is a singular circumstance that one fount should have been made in Europe and another in America, at the same time. By the kindness of John T. White, Esq., of this city, who cut the fount for Mr. Williams, I have been



Aloys Auer, who has done so much to make the Imperial printing-office of Vienna the first in the world, as regards the number and variety of its alphabets; and they accurately represent the characters of the original in every respect, with the exception of a few of the ligatures. The Japanese text begins at the right side of the book, and is arranged in perpendicular columns, which follow each other from right to left, in the Chinese manner; and the illustrations are inserted in the midst of the text, as wood-cuts are with us. As the shoulders of the types would not admit of the lines being placed as close together as in the original, the Japanese part extends to eighty-two pages; one-fourth of which, in consequence, contain no illustrations.

Let us now turn to the translation, which begins of course at the other end of the book, and with the preface, etc., makes fifty-four pages. In making this translation, Dr. Pfizmaier had difficulties of various kinds to contend with. In the first place, so little had been hitherto done in Europe for the study of the Japanese, that he was obliged to construct his own aids as he went along, that is, beside deciphering the text, he had to compose a dictionary, and to divine most of the rules of the grammar. The language of the original is that commonly understood throughout Japan, but which for Europeans is the most difficult of all, since a knowledge of the Chinese is of very little assistance towards understanding it. The words from the latter language which frequently occur in it, are expressed in the syllabic character of the Japanese, and only by way of exception, and for the sake of perspicuity, in the word-characters known to Sinologists. In consequence of the well known homophony of Chinese words, which is greatly enhanced by the dissimilar and varying pronunciation of the Japanese, those which have been introduced into their language, although they almost always form combinations, cannot in general be understood, unless they are to be found written phonetically in a dictionary, together with the corresponding word-characters. But even this is often insufficient, if the meaning is not also given; as to which, as the Japanese

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allowed to consult his books, from which it appears that the set of seventy punches was completed December 12, 1846, and the last of the charges for alterations, casting type, etc., was made May 5, 1847.

have much that is peculiar in this respect, the greatest uncertainty may exist. To the difficulties presented by single expressions, are to be added those of grammar and style. A number of forms which essentially belong to the grammar of the language, are not laid down in any book of instruction; and the syntax had to be constructed from the foundation. Yet a knowledge of this latter department of grammar is here absolutely indispensable; for the Japanese language, notwithstanding its surprising richness in forms, has no distinction of number, gender, or person; and as the subject of the proposition is much less frequently expressed than in languages which, as the Latin for instance, accurately make these distinctions, nothing but a perfect knowledge of the niceties of syntax can lead one to a correct understanding of the sense. It also deserves to be mentioned, that the Japanese periods, as regards both the construction of the principal sentences and the parenthetical clauses they contain, are of excessive length, having in fact, as a general rule, no other limits than the termination of an event, or, in dialogues, the end of a speech. Hence, although Dr. Pfizmaier has endeavored to make his translation perfectly faithful, it was impossible in most cases to follow the construction of the periods; it was often necessary to break off on coming to a verb, and, in the case of parentheses, to give them a different turn. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, he thinks that he has furnished a translation tolerably free from faults, there being only a few isolated expressions with respect to which he is still in doubt, as to whether he has hit the right meaning.

I will now give a sketch of the story, premising, that, in drawing it up, the object has been to furnish an accurate outline of the plot, and to preserve such of the details as are necessary to assist those who may have an opportunity of inspecting the book itself, to understand the illustrations.

### *Part First.*

Tamontara Kadzuyosi, governor of the district of Kuantō,\* whose palace was situated in Kamakura, had a numerous band of retainers, and was a powerful nobleman. He was fond of hunting, and had country-seats at various places, for

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\* Comprising eight provinces lying about Yedo.

the purpose of putting up at them when on his excursions after game. Once, towards the end of the harvest, he went out on a hunting expedition to one of his chateaux, and, after wandering about all day, came towards dusk to a place called the Snipe Marsh. One of his attendants spied at some distance off what he took to be a snipe; another said **that** it was more like a partridge, and that there were no snipes in that place; whereupon a dispute arose. A lad of fourteen, named Simano Suke, now stepped forward, and told them to cease their quarrelling, for he would decide the matter. He let fly an arrow from his bow, and grazed the back of a bird on the wing. The governor was enraged at his impertinence in thus interfering where he was not called upon, and wounding a bird; but Simano told his servant to go and fetch the arrow. When it was brought, he laid it before the governor, and told him that all he wished to do was to put an end to the dispute: his object was accomplished, for there was a snipe's feather sticking to the arrow; and he had taken particular care not to hurt the bird. The governor became still more furious at the coolness with which the youngster put himself in the right; he ordered him to quit his presence, and at the same time discharged Simano's father from his service. The young man, without again seeing his parent, on whom he had innocently brought this disgrace, immediately took himself off, no one knew whither.

Eight years after this, the following events took place. An old rice-dealer, named Kadziyemon, in the province of Sessiu, having no children of his own, had adopted a youth named Sakitsi. In his eightieth year, the old man died; whereupon his wife turned nun, assumed the religious name of Miosan, resigned the management of the business to young Sakitsi, and, retiring from intercourse with the world, spent her whole time in devotional exercises at the temple. Sakitsi, being a young man of very conscientious character, devoted himself to the care of the business and household, with a diligence beyond his strength. The consequence was a severe attack of intermittent fever, which brought him very low. As he grew better, his adoptive mother, by the advice of the physician, engaged a merry-andrew and a young female singer to come and amuse him, with the hope of arousing his mind from its

languid state. At first he grew better; but by the time the rivers began to thaw, and the cypress-hills to put on the appearance of spring, the state of seclusion in which he lived had aggravated his lowness of spirits and the other symptoms of his disorder. His mother thereupon exhorted him to travel, for the purpose of recruiting his health; and as he had some business to transact in the province of Yamato, he determined to make a journey thither, and visit the localities in that part of the country which have been celebrated from ancient times. He gave the shop into the care of a trustworthy person, and with a few attendants set out on his tour.

In the city of Nara, situated in this last mentioned province, there was a certain tea-house, where a beautiful and amiable young maiden, of the age of seventeen, came every day to sing and play upon the dulcimer, accompanied by a little girl only four years old, who went about among the company and gathered their contributions. The young artist's exquisite voice and skill in playing attracted a great deal of company to the place. Sakitsi, on coming to the city, happened to visit this house; he heartily joined in the general feeling of admiration, and ordered his servants to find out who she was. They ascertained that she was a person of respectable birth, above the common order of those who exhibit their talents in such places. Her motive in coming there to earn money was to assist her aunt, a woman in poor circumstances, whose little daughter it was who came with her. The account of this excellent conduct inspired Sakitsi with a great liking for the beautiful girl, which gradually ripened into love. Antiquities had no longer any charms for him; and he visited the tea-house daily. He took occasion to make several presents to the young lady, who was called Misawo; and as Sakitsi was a good-looking young fellow, his attentions excited a corresponding sentiment in her breast.

One evening, as the company were leaving the tea-house, a man named Saizo, a keeper of a house of entertainment in the seaport of Simano Utsi, a part of the town of Naniwa, called Misawo aside, and spoke with her privately. It appeared from their conversation, that she had agreed to bind herself to the service of Saizo, and was to receive, as the

price of her freedom, a hundred taels.\* Before parting, they settled that Saizo should call at her dwelling the next evening, receive from Misawo the written document he had drawn up and given her to sign, pay over to her the money, and take her with him. All this was to be managed without the knowledge of her family, for whom Misawo was now sacrificing herself.

To explain the reasons for her conduct, it will be necessary to describe the situation of the family more fully. A man named Tofei, now a sedan-bearer in the city of Nara, the present scene of the story, had formerly been a foot-soldier in the service of Kadzumura Teidaifu, a military commander in Kuantō. He there fell in love with Fanayo, his commander's sister-in-law, and they ran away together to Nara, where Fanayo soon presented him with a daughter, now four years old, and named Koyosi. Tofei had living with him his mother, named Kutsiwa, who, after suffering for many years from a disease of the eyes, was left totally blind. But this was not the only trouble of the worthy couple. After they had been for some time at their new place of abode, they learnt that Tofei's old master, Teidaifu, had been deprived of his command, in consequence of having offended his superior in authority, and was reduced to poverty. Now Fanayo, ever since her running away, had kept up a correspondence by letter with her sister, and, to prevent any uneasiness respecting her fate, had assured her that she and her husband were doing well. When therefore Teidaifu lost his means of subsistence, and had no prospect of supporting his daughter Misawo comfortably, he suffered himself to be persuaded by his wife to commit her to the care of Fanayo and her husband. They both loved her very much, and Tofei felt an especial respect for her as the daughter of his old commander. He labored hard to maintain his family decently, but instead of being able to lay by any thing, his earnings were barely sufficient to support them from day to day; and as his mother's long illness often prevented him from attending to his business, he was at length obliged to sell some of his furniture to keep them all from starving. Misawo could not bear to witness the distress of the household, without making an effort to

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\* Very nearly a hundred and forty dollars of our currency.

relieve it; which caused her to hit upon the plan of turning her accomplishments to account, by playing and singing in the tea-house. Her daily absences were accounted for by pretending that to procure from Heaven the restoration of the family to their former home and condition, and the recovery of the old lady's eyesight, she had made a vow to visit the temple of Nanyen (which stood near the tea-house) two days in succession, and there to read the Prayer Book of a Hundred Chapters. The small change collected by little Koyosi she converted into gold, which she gave to her aunt under the name of remittances received from home.

But notwithstanding these exertions and sacrifices, in consequence of the continued illness of the old lady, the house remained nearly destitute of furniture and comforts; and when Saizo proposed to her to sell herself into his service, she consented, thinking that she would thus relieve her relatives from the burden of maintaining her, and that the price of her liberty would furnish the means of restoring the old grandmother to health. She accordingly made all the necessary arrangements for putting her generous design into execution, concealing her own agony of mind at the prospect of parting with her kindred and at the fate which awaited her, under her usual gay and pleasing exterior.

On the morning when Saizo was expected, which was the day of the peach-festival, Koyosi was playing with several dolls which she had arranged on her mother's dressing table; and as she had only one peach for herself, and none to give to her mute little ones, she undertook to entertain them by telling some stories out of her picture-book, called *The Parents of the Flowery Field*. Tofei, after paying his usual morning-respects to his mother, took the sedan on his shoulder, and went forth to his work. It now remained to get Fanayo out of the way. Misawo accordingly feigned indisposition, and begged her aunt to visit the temple in her stead. She consented and went, telling Misawo to take good care of herself and give the old lady her medicine, and bidding Koyosi be a good girl.

Saizo soon arrived, and brought with him the hundred taels, which Misawo put, together with a letter to her relatives, into the drawer of a small chest, on the lid of which was the figure of a dog reclining. They had some difficulty in quieting the suspicions of old dame Kutsiwa, who came

out of her bed, groping about, and wanting to know what was going on. Saizo said he had come with a magnificent sedan to take Misawo to a lady of rank, the wife of a high judicial functionary, who desired to engage her as one of her attendants. He blundered several times in his story, as he attempted to answer the questions which the old lady put to him, but was helped through by the ready wit of Misawo. This was not all; for Kutsiwa, supposing that Misawo must have on a very grand dress for such an occasion, took it into her head to examine the quality of the stuff. But Misawo escaped this danger, by snatching the covering from the domestic altar of Buddha, and placing it on her knee; and the old lady, on feeling it, was quite delighted to find her so comfortably and handsomely clad. Misawo, suppressing all outward marks of grief as well as she was able, beckoned little Koyosi out into the hall, and said to her, "When your father and mother come home and want to know where I am, repeat to them the explanation of this page in the Picture-book of the Flowery Dwelling, from which I have been accustomed to give you instruction every evening."

Scarcely were they gone, when Tofei returned in search of his pipe, which he had forgotten. On hearing from his mother of Misawo's departure, it occurred to him that near the house he had passed a large sedan, the occupant of which suddenly drew down the blind at his approach. He was hastening out of the house to go in search of it, when Koyosi ran to him, and said she could tell him where Misawo was gone. Her father bade her do so immediately; whereupon she took up her picture-book, and began to repeat with infantile simplicity, "Once upon a time." Her father's impatience could not brook this. He bade her never mind the story, but tell him, like a good child, where her cousin was. She replied that Misawo had told her to repeat this story, which would show whither she was gone. As her father saw no remedy but submission, he let her go on, which she did as follows: "Once upon a time, there was a man named Siziki Dzitsi-i, who saved the life of a little puppy, and took him home and reared him. When he had grown up to be a big dog, he one day said to Dzitsi-i, 'If you will go out with me to-morrow, and dig at the place where I throw myself down, and follow the directions I give you'—Here

he awoke from his dream, and as soon as it began to grow light, he went out with his dog, and dug at the place where the latter lay down. After digging a while, he came to a great quantity of gold pieces, and so was made rich all at once." After impatiently hearing the child to an end, Tofei, who could make nothing of it, was rushing towards the door, to set out on his search for the fugitive, when he stumbled over the dog-chest, and the money fell out, thus explaining the meaning of the story. He sat down, and was weeping over the letter in which Misawo related the real state of the case, and her motives for the step she had taken, when his wife returned home. Tofei was for taking the money with him and starting off to Utsino Sima, for the purpose of refunding the money and annulling the contract. But his wife convinced him that this could not be done; that the contract having been formally made, not twice the money would suffice to cancel it; and that their only course was to set themselves up in business with the means thus placed at their disposal, as Misawo had recommended in her letter, and when they had acquired enough, to leave no effort unmade to recover the generous girl's freedom. He perceived the correctness of his wife's advice, and acted accordingly. They immediately set off, and paid a visit to Misawo; who silenced their expressions of concern at the sacrifice she had made, by telling them she regarded what she had done simply as an act of filial duty towards her absent mother. With the money thus obtained, the old lady after a while was cured of her blindness; and then Tofei and his wife removed, and set up a house of entertainment in the harbor of Naniwa, for the double purpose of being near their niece and of earning the wherewithal to purchase back her freedom.

Misawo, when the time arrived for changing her name, [as is customary with every one in Japan, at the age of twenty,] took that of Komatsu. Her lover, Sakitsi, who had long sought her in vain after her mysterious disappearance, had now returned home to Simano Utsi, and consequently was again in her vicinity; but he was not aware of it, and as his business often called him to other parts of the country, he was thus prevented from meeting her.



*Part Second.*

On a certain day, five years after the occurrences just mentioned, Komatsu, on returning home from a visit to a temple, met her aunt Wofana;\* and the latter asked her to accompany her home, where Woyosi† was alone, practising her singing-lesson. Just as they arrived there, they perceived Tofei, and three persons with him, getting out of a boat at the landing-place in front of the house. These were no other than Sakitsi and two of his friends. As they drew near the house to take some refreshment, Komatsu recognised her lover; the ladies retired within doors, and Komatsu gave her aunt an account of Sakitsi, and of his former attentions to her. As the gentlemen sat talking over their wine, without observing the presence of the ladies in a distant part of the room, the conversation turned on the songs of a favorite Japanese poet, and on a certain female singer of repute, named Komatsu. Sakitsi said he had not seen her, and was making some not very respectful remarks on persons of her profession in general, when suddenly his eye alighted on our heroine, in whom he immediately recognised the long-lost mistress of his affections.

As may be supposed, he lost no time in seeking an interview with Komatsu, and making a formal declaration of his passion. He had also the happiness of learning from her, after some bantering on the subject of his recent remarks, that his love was returned; in proof of which she showed him a paper, containing questions about her lover, with which she had been a hundred times to the temple of Aizen, and the responses she had received. The consequence was that Sakitsi neglected every thing else, to enjoy the pleasure of her society, and lavished his money in taking her about from place to place. When his mother Miosan heard of this, she determined to trust him no longer out of her sight; and accordingly she shut him up in his chamber, where his only consolation consisted in the many beautiful letters which his friend the physician secretly brought him from Komatsu.

\* This is made by contracting her former name Fanayo, and prefixing the particle *wo*, which is placed, for the sake of distinction, before female names.

† This name is made from Koyosi, by substituting the prefix *wo* for *ko*, which latter means "little."

One day, as Miosan was remonstrating with him on the imprudence and want of moderation of his conduct, a woman disguised as a fortune-teller came to the door, saying that she had been sent for by Sakitsi to perform a conjuration, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of his illness. It was Wofana in disguise, who came to bring him tidings of importance from his mistress. When the old lady had been with difficulty got out of the way, Wofana told him that Komatsu's father had been taken into favor again by his superior, and restored to his former position; and that a young man named Yukimuro Riusuke, the foster-brother of Komatsu, had come to take her back to her father, who had affianced her to the son of a wealthy neighbor. She told him also that Riusuke, as soon as he was informed of the present servile condition of Komatsu, had taken steps to procure the money for her freedom: thus the long cherished design of Wofana and her husband, of freeing her themselves, would be frustrated; in which case, they would never dare to show themselves before the face of the old officer. Moreover, Komatsu had declared that she would die rather than break her plighted faith to Sakitsi. The object of Wofana, in coming to him, was to inform Sakitsi of these facts, and to let him know that Komatsu would be that evening at a neighboring house, where the pressing nature of the circumstances made it necessary that he should meet her.

In the evening, Sakitsi, having obtained Miosan's permission, and being furnished by her liberality with the sum of one hundred taels, sallied forth to the neighbor's house, where Komatsu was already seated at the window, anxiously awaiting his arrival. As he drew near and spoke to her, a dog sprang forth and barked furiously. Sakitsi threw a stone at him, and in so doing the packet of gold fell from his bosom to the ground. Not perceiving the accident in the dark, he caught up the packet also, thinking it was a stone, and threw it at the dog. As he did so, he heard a sleepy voice exclaim, from a boat lying at the shore near by, "Hola, woman! what are you throwing out here?" He made no reply, but slipped into the house, where he found Komatsu in a state of great agitation. She confirmed the account of Wofana; and expressed her determination, much as she loved and revered her parents and longed to

see them again, to die rather than return home and wed another. Sakitsi bade her be of good cheer. He told her that the money he had brought with him would enable her aunt to purchase back her freedom, in which case she would be under no necessity of going home against her will. But when he was about to produce the gold, he discovered to his horror that it was gone. This last blow of misfortune drove the lovers to despair, and they resolved to put an end to their lives together.

At this juncture, they heard the voice of persons approaching the house. Komatsu hastily concealed her lover under a dresser, and endeavored to remove the traces of her recent agitation. The new comers proved to be Wofana and Yukimuro Riusuke. The latter announced that he had just obtained and paid over the money for Komatsu's release, so that from that evening forth she was free. The joy this news was calculated to excite, was more than counterbalanced by the obligation it imposed on Komatsu of going home with Riusuke. Both she and her aunt besought him to return to her parents, and tell them that Misawo was already engaged to be married, that she was sick, dead, any thing, rather than force her to accompany him back. Riusuke, however, was firm in urging the superior claims of filial duty over love. He depicted the ardent longing with which her parents counted the days till her return, and the despair into which her undutiful conduct would throw them. Komatsu feigned to be convinced by his arguments, and promised to set out with him for Kamakura the following morning. Satisfied with this assurance, Riusuke took leave of her along with Wofana, whom he was to accompany to her own home.

Sakitsi then came forth from his hiding-place, and the two lovers, hand in hand, fled from the house along the shore. As they wandered along, they perceived people with lanterns, belonging to the house they had left, who were evidently in search of them. The fugitives were then near Tofei's house; and as all was silent about it, they proposed to take refuge there. Sakitsi told his companion to conceal herself, while he went forward and reconnoitred. He found no one at home but Woyosi; who informed him that her father and mother, learning that Komatsu had run away, were gone in search of her. Woyosi was longing to

go out and listen to the singers on a neighbor's balcony, it being the night of a festival; but was obliged to stay in doors, as there was no one but herself to mind the house. Sakitsi told her she might go, and he would take charge of it in her absence,—a permission of which she gladly availed herself.

As soon as she was gone, he brought Komatsu into an inner apartment; and as they sat there in silence, and listened to the chant of the choristers which described the vain and fleeting nature of earthly things, the gentle Komatsu melted into tears at the thought of the fate she was bringing on her beloved. This reminded Sakitsi of the unfortunate loss occasioned by the barking of the dog; and seeing before him the little dog-chest, which had been preserved by Tofei and his wife in grateful remembrance of the self-sacrifice of Komatsu, he in his rage struck the mute image a violent blow. Great was his surprise when out rolled the identical packet of money which he had thrown away, and which he afterwards learnt had fallen into Tofei's boat, as he lay there waiting for some passengers. He regarded this unlooked for piece of good fortune as a happy omen; and he now besought Komatsu to read the letter brought by Riusuke from her mother, which she had not yet had courage to open. The account of the preparations making by Kutsiwa for her daughter's reception grieved the heart of Komatsu, as she thought of the terrible blow her death would give to her affectionate parent. But as she read on, Sakitsi learned to his unbounded delight, that the bride-groom to whom she had been betrothed in her third year, was Simano Suke, the youth whose expertness in archery had brought him into disgrace with his lord. The latter, Kutsiwa proceeded to say, was now willing to forgive the youth; and as soon as he could be found, the wedding would be celebrated. Sakitsi informed the astonished Komatsu that he himself was the young man spoken of. As she had never disclosed to him her family name, he had been prevented from recognising, in the object of his affections, his long affianced bride.

Of course all their sorrow was now turned into joy; nor had they suffered in vain, since the trials they had undergone had thoroughly tested the strength and constancy of their affections. Our friends immediately set off together

for Kamakura; there the meeting between the parents and their children was of a joyful and affecting nature, such as words are inadequate to describe. The old Commander was in ecstasies at the happy turn which affairs at length had taken, and he presided at the wedding with great glee. Tofei was also restored to favor, and he and Wofana were set up in the rice establishment formerly kept by Miosan. Being all distinguished for filial duty and affection, they were blessed with a numerous offspring, and led henceforward peaceful and happy lives.

The Japanese would seem to be very fond of seasoning their conversation with proverbs, from the number of these specimens of ancient wisdom which the book contains. The wit of the piece seems to consist in certain plays upon the meaning of proper names and other words, and in a variety of innocent deceptions practised by the characters upon each other, to free themselves from the dilemmas into which they are brought. Notwithstanding the pains bestowed by Dr. Pfizmaier on his translation, it must be confessed that it is very obscure, and sometimes quite unintelligible; which without doubt is owing to the meagre nature of the helps at his command. Indeed, to render all the allusions perfectly intelligible to an Occidental reader, would require a body of annotation at least as large as the book itself. But for this the materials do not yet exist; even the names of the towns, rivers, etc., mentioned in the tale, are not all to be found on any European map. Yet, in spite of these difficulties and drawbacks incident to the incipient state of the study, an attentive perusal of the work as it is affords no little insight into the social condition of Japan, which, amidst all its peculiarities, bears a curious resemblance to that of Europe in the feudal ages.

The wood-cuts, too, as respects the amount of information they convey, are nearly as valuable as the text; they afford many interesting illustrations of the descriptions we possess of the dresses, furniture, and domestic manners of the people. A lithograph of one of these cuts is here given, as a specimen. In the original, it is cut into two, down the middle, the two halves being placed on two opposite pages;

and the Japanese text fills up all the space which in our copy appears blank. It represents the household of Tofei on the morning when Saizo was to come. To the right, Misawo is handing a drink to old dame Kutsiwa. Koyosi is playing with her dolls; and near her, on the floor, are the little dog-chest and her picture-book. In the centre, Fanayo, with a prayer-book in her hand, is preparing to go to the temple; and on the left, are Tofei and his sedan. In the background, over the head of Misawo, is a recess forming a sort of domestic altar, where the follower of the *Sintoo*, or ancient national religion of the Japanese, pays his devotions. It is thus described by Dr. G. H. Burger: "In the worship of the *kami*, (spirits or gods,) particular dwellings for them are erected on earth, which are called *miya*; these are temples of various sizes, and built of wood,—the smaller of *lignum vitæ*, the larger of cypress. In the centre of them, slips of paper fastened to pieces of *lignum vitæ* are deposited as emblems of the godhead, and called *gohei*. These *gohei* are to be found in every Japanese house, where they are preserved in small shrines, on an elevated spot. On both sides of the *miya* stand flower-pots with green boughs, generally of the myrtle or pine, then two lamps, a cup of tea, and several vessels filled with the liquor *sake*. Here every Japanese, morning and evening, offers his prayers to the creator, Ten-syoo-dai-zui."\*

Among the things in this picture that most deserve notice, are the varieties of head-dress of the different characters. Thus, the child Koyosi's head is shaved, with the exception of two or three little tufts. The old lady's scanty locks are simply secured with a riband. The head-dress of the younger adults is more elaborate, and is thus accurately described by Mr. Williams: "The Japanese shave the crown of the head, leaving the hair on the sides above the ears to grow long, and combing it back to the occiput, where the whole is gathered up into a cue, and brought upwards and forwards to the crown, and tied with a cord; when tied, the end is cut square off, leaving a little tuft on the top. The women are not shaved, but bind their long hair on their heads, with a profusion of combs, and orna-

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\* *Chinese Repository*, vol. ii, p. 321. A fuller description will be found in Von Siebold's *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan*, Abth. v. p. 29.

ments, making rather a fanciful head-dress.”\* It will be observed also, that Fanayo’s eyebrows are shaved off, that being a mark of the married state. One of the peculiarities of the Japanese dress is the coat of arms worked upon it, which Mr. Williams thus describes: “The blazonry is a white circle about an inch in diameter, within which is the device. The *ignobile vulgus* are content to have their family coat of arms worked in the seam on the back, between the shoulders; but the officers bear their heraldry upon the seam of the dress in five places,—on the back between the shoulders, inside each elbow, and on each breast.”† This custom has afforded the ingenious artist a ready mode of designating his characters, by marking them with their initials; a device which it will be perceived he has availed himself of, and which, in consequence of the discrepancies that present themselves between the different portraits of the same individual, is, as Dr. Pfizmaier remarks, by no means superfluous.

\* *Chinese Repository*, vol vi. p. 360.

† *Ibid.*, p. 367.

## NOTE

## ON JAPANESE SYLLABARIES.

BY

SAMUEL WELLS WILLIAMS.

[The following statements by Mr. Williams, of Hong-kong, respecting the several forms of writing in use among the Japanese, and their origin, with the accompanying specimen of the Japanese type recently cut and cast in this country, a fount of which is in the possession of the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, form a suitable appendix to the foregoing article.

COMM OF PUBL.]

THE influence which the language and literature of the Chinese have exerted upon the surrounding nations, during a long course of ages, dating even from before the Christian era, is almost unequalled in the history of the human mind. The Cochín-Chinese, Coreans, Tibetans, Manchus, Lew-Chewans, and Japanese, have all been more or less brought under the intellectual sway of Chinese philosophers, through the medium of their language, which they have studied with a zeal and patience worthy of a better reward than is afforded in the writings of Confucius and his disciples. All these nations have alphabets of their own, except the Cochín-Chinese, but none of them have so complicated a system of writing as the Japanese and Lew-Chewans, who, in respect to their literature, may be considered as one people.

Up to the time of the sixteenth *dauri*, or monarch, named Oúzin-tenwo, the Japanese had no writing, but during the



reign of this prince, about A. D. 284,\* Chinese characters began to be employed. He sent an envoy to the southern part of Corea, to obtain learned men by whom the literature and civilization of China might be introduced into his dominions. The messenger returned with Wonin, a descendant of Kau-tsu, the founder of the Han dynasty, who was appointed instructor to two princes, and diffused among the people a knowledge of the Chinese characters, and explained the meaning of the classics. The pure Chinese characters are now employed principally in works of learning, but are also used throughout the country, to write names of places, persons and other things.

However, as the construction of the Japanese language differs materially from that of the Chinese, the use of the written characters of the latter, alone, was found to be attended with many inconveniences; one of which was that most of the common characters had several meanings, and consequently required a number of synonyms in the colloquial Japanese. It was not until the beginning of the eighth century, that a remedy for this inconvenience was found in the formation of a syllabary, by selecting Chinese characters, in whole or in part, as symbols for all the syllables in the language. The author of this syllabary is supposed to have been Kibi, and from its being derived from fragments of Chinese symbols, he called it *kata-kana*, or parts of characters. It is used in dictionaries, to explain the meaning of the Chinese; and in religious writings, and other works, by the side of Chinese characters, to indicate their pronunciation, or signification; or between them, to mark the grammatical forms of the idiom, rendered difficult by the use of isolated characters. This *i-ro-ha*, or syllabary, is formed on the same principle as the one invented by Guss, to write Cherokee; it consists of forty-eight distinct symbols, increased to seventy-three syllables by the use of diacritical marks, which affect the consonantal part. A fount of type for this syllabary has recently been cast in New York, of which a specimen is here introduced, with the pronunciation of each character:

\* In the *Chinese Repository*, vol. x, p. 207, this date is erroneously stated as before Christ. The xvth Dairi reigned from A. D. 270 to 312. See Titsingh's *Annales des Empereurs du Japon*, p. 19

|            |            |            |            |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| イ i        | ヲ wo       | ノ no       | ザ za       |
| ロ ro or lo | ワ wa       | オ o        | キ ki       |
| ハ ha or fa | カ ka       | ク ku       | ギ gi       |
| バ ba       | ガ ga       | グ gu       | ユ yu       |
| パ pa       | ヨ yo       | ヤ ya       | メ me       |
| ニ ni       | タ ta       | マ ma       | ミ mi       |
| ホ ho or fo | ダ da       | ケ ke       | シ shi      |
| ボ bo       | レ re or le | ゲ ge       | ジ zhi      |
| ポ po       | ソ so       | フ fu       | エ ye       |
| ヘ he or fe | ゾ zo       | ブ bu       | ヒ hi or fi |
| ベ be       | ツ tsu      | プ pu       | ビ bi       |
| ペ pe       | ヅ dzu      | コ ko       | ピ pi       |
| ト to       | 子 ne       | ゴ go       | モ mo       |
| ド do       | ナ na       | エ ye and e | セ she      |
| チ chi      | ラ ra or la | テ te       | ゼ zhe      |
| ヂ ji       | ム mu       | デ de       | ス su       |
| リ ri or li | ウ u        | ア a        | ズ xu       |
| ス nu       | 井 i and wi | サ sa       | ン 'n       |
| ル ru or lu |            |            |            |

As in most Asiatic languages, so in Japanese there are no capital letters to designate proper nouns, nor are marks of punctuation always employed. The former are occasionally denoted by drawing one or two lines along the side of the characters, or syllables, standing for the name of a person or place. Fifteen out of the forty-eight symbols are Chinese characters still in use, the others are parts of characters arbitrarily taken to denote their respective sounds.

After the death of Kibi, a second syllabary was invented by Koubo, which could be used to write Japanese, without having recourse to the Chinese, called *hira-kana*, or equal writing. Like the first, it is derived from Chinese characters, but instead of one symbol for each syllable, there are two, three, and in a few cases even five, modes of writing the same sound, the whole amounting to one hundred, exclusive of the diacritical marks. A fount to print the *hira-kana* would require even a larger number of types than this, because of the manner in which the different symbols unite, when written one after another in the column. The

*kata-kana* is held by Japanese authors to be appropriate to men, and the *hira-kana* to women; the two might be properly termed the Roman and the Italic, though they have little or no resemblance to each other. The *hira-kana* is employed for epistolary intercourse, in books of a light kind, and on all common occasions, and every scholar is taught to write it elegantly and rapidly; there seems to be no restriction as to which of the symbols standing for a single syllable shall be employed, and the writer chooses the one which coalesces with its predecessor the easiest.

A third syllabary was invented about A. D. 1006, by a Buddhist priest called Ziaku-so, who was sent on a mission to China from Japan. He did not understand the spoken Chinese, but, as he wrote it readily, he was directed to make out a list of Chinese characters, with their meanings and sounds in Japanese. He also made forty-seven letters for his countrymen, which are now used indiscriminately with the *hira-kana*, and it is not unlikely that some of the duplicate forms included under that, are derived from his syllabary.

There is still another ancient syllabary called *Manyo-kana*, because a collection of odes, styled the *Man-yo*, or Myriad Leaves, was written with it. It consists of complete Chinese characters, used phonetically, and written in full, or in abbreviated forms. It is mixed up with the two preceding syllabaries in a very perplexing manner, because, without a full acquaintance with the author's meaning, it is difficult to decide whether, in a given instance, he is using the characters phonetically, or lexigraphically. A Japanese writer is at liberty to employ the Chinese characters when his composition can be made more perspicuous, energetic, or accurate, and the popular taste favors their frequent insertion.

Another syllabary, made of other Chinese characters than those used in the *Manyo-kana*, considerably contracted, is called *Yanato-kana*, or Japanese writing. It is used in combination with the *hira-kana*, and the syllabary of Ziaku-so, the three forming the common writing of the people, and giving them the choice out of one hundred and forty-seven symbols, to express forty-seven sounds. In order to add to the labor of reading, other Chinese characters are interspersed here and there, sometimes with and sometimes

without the meaning, or sound, being given on the side, and generally written in the cursive and not the square printed form; so that, if the number of signs employed in the five syllabaries, and the variants allowed in the Manyō-kana, all of which cannot be much less than three hundred, together with the unlimited use made of Chinese characters, are all taken into consideration, it will be conceded that the scholars of Japan have succeeded in making their language one of the most difficult to read of any in the world, if indeed it be not the first in this respect. So close and so extensive is the connection between it and Chinese, that before a Japanese student can make satisfactory progress in his own literature, he must acquire a knowledge of three or four thousand Chinese characters, ascertain how they are used by authors in his own country, and learn the modes of combining them with his own syllabic symbols, and the modes of writing them. Much of his time, therefore, is consumed in merely learning to read and write the numerous symbols contained in the syllabaries, all of which are contracted or mutilated Chinese characters; and when these are mastered, he is constantly liable to be stopped in his reading by unusual Chinese terms, thrown in to show the writer's learning, or to illustrate his meaning, for which he must recur to a dictionary. The cause of this fondness for using Chinese, seems to be pedantry on the part of Japanese authors, rather than that their own tongue is meagre, or uncertain. It is allowable, when a Chinese character is a common one, to insert it in the text, without writing either the sound or sense, by its side; and if this explanation is given of unusual characters, it is omitted when the character is repeated in the same section. This license increases the labor of deciphering a page, inasmuch as the author's opinion of the commonness of a character may be far from coinciding with his reader's attainments, so that the latter is compelled to refer to a dictionary, or shut up the book.

The Japanese language is written in columns like the Chinese, Manchu and Corean, and reads from right to left. The books are printed in the Chinese manner, from blocks; and the skill exhibited in the cutting of the page in the tortuous hira-kana, and other syllabaries, united with the cursive form of Chinese characters, and the intellectual labor required to decipher them, together, form a striking instance

of misapplied ingenuity in blocking up the avenues to knowledge, and compelling the student to devote his energies to learning the means, rather than to making progress in the ends of knowledge. Books are printed upon paper made from a species of mulberry, which possesses much more tenacity and durability than the Chinese bamboo-paper. They are sold for a small price, and there is a greater diffusion of knowledge and acquaintance with the written language, among the mass of the people, than one would suppose, considering the labor of acquiring it.\*

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\* See *Chinese Repository*, vol. x pp. 207 ff., where is a note by myself on Japanese syllabaries, drawn chiefly from the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique*, vol. ii, which has furnished most of the facts here stated.

ARTICLE III.

CONTRIBUTION TO THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

CENTRAL KOORDISTAN,

IN A LETTER TO THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY,

WITH A MAP.

BY

AZARIAH SMITH, M.D.,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN TURKEY.

(Read May 24, 1850.)



# CONTRIBUTION TO THE GEOGRAPHY

OF

## CENTRAL KOORDISTAN.

'Aintab, Turkey, August 20, 1849.

DEAR SIR,

The accompanying map of a portion of Koordistan is forwarded to the Society, with the hope that, though a small, it may not be an uninteresting contribution to the geography of that part of Asiatic Turkey. Its value, when compared with the maps of other travellers, must depend upon its comparative accuracy; and as I feel no disposition to judge my own production, permit me to state briefly the manner in which it was constructed, and to add such farther evidence as seems to prove its approximation to the truth.

The tour during which this map was made, was performed by me, in company with Rev. Thomas Laurie, as a missionary of the American Board to the Mountain Nestorians, in August and September, 1844. Considering the longitude and latitude of Mosul as sufficiently settled, I commenced my survey, and my map, from that city as a starting point. Having men and mules at our own disposal, we travelled only in the morning and evening, and I employed the middle of each day in plotting the ground gone over during the previous twenty-four hours. The direction of each course was taken with an accurate pocket-compass, and the distance travelled was measured with a watch, each hour of time being reckoned at three miles. Each course was then laid down upon a sheet of three miles to an inch, and immediately after our return to Mosul, the whole was reviewed, and reduced to the size now forwarded. The



accompanying map has been prepared from the one thus made, by placing upon it a thin sheet of paper, and tracing the lines with a pen and ink. If any errors have been made, therefore, they were made at the time of the survey, and it may be well to state a few precautions which were taken, to guard against them.

As the route passed over was for the most part exceedingly mountainous, and the steeps often very difficult of ascent and descent, an allowance for these was suggested in the margin of my notes, at the end of each such course; and by counting and measuring the steps of our animals on level and hilly, rocky and smooth road, an attempt was made to reduce all to the standard of level travelling. The direction of the individual courses was verified by backward observations from every elevated point; all short courses, except when my animal was restless, being taken without dismounting, but all long ones, as well as the observations of verification, with the compass resting upon some elevated object, and with every corresponding care. It was not deemed that these or any other precautions, in such circumstances, would form a perfectly accurate map, but without them, it was plain that even an approximation to truth could not be hoped for.

By comparing the map thus made with that of Dr. Ainsworth, published at London in 1841, in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, it will be seen that, though we both left Mosul with the country of the Mountain Nestorians (Chaldeans) in view, as the special object of our visits, we have made it to differ in latitude more than the whole distance which he has removed it from our starting point. Were this difference smaller, or the distance travelled greater, it might be difficult to ascertain who was most in error; but in a diversity of more than half a degree of latitude, there seems space sufficient to find somewhat to put either or both of us, as tourists, in the wrong. The following statements, it is hoped, will serve to guide the reader to a truthful comparison of our results; and to make them more intelligible, I have annexed to my map a small chart of the whole country lying between Van, Jesiré, Zacho, Mosul, and Oroomiah, and placed upon it the situations assigned to the places presently to be mentioned, by Dr. Ainsworth, (marked A,) and myself, (marked S.)

In going from Mosul to Ashitha, (Ashitah,) our route was direct, and our course nearly due North. We were thirty-four and three-fourth hours in performing the journey, our road the first eight hours being fine, and almost perfectly level, and the remaining twenty-six hours and three-quarters, one-third of it at least being such as might be called good road for travelling on horseback. Is it conceivable that we should have made only 35' of latitude, as laid down in the map of the Royal Geographical Society? Or, to take a stronger case of the same kind, we were seven hours in going to Ashitha from a point directly East of Koomroo Kala, (Kalah Kumri,) whereas, according to Dr. Ainsworth, the distance cannot be more than two or three miles.

Again, at Julamerk (Julamerik) we were told, by good authority, that a foot messenger could go to Van, although through a mountainous region, in three days; and to Mosul by way of Jesiré, the road being mostly level, in five days. According to Dr. Ainsworth, Julamerk is much nearer to Mosul than to Van, and one would sooner think of going from Julamerk to Jesiré by the way of Mosul, than from Julamerk to Mosul by the way of Jesiré.

Farther, (calling in other travellers to aid us in our comparison,) Dr. Wright, missionary of the American Board at Oroomiah, in describing a tour through Koordistan, in 1846, says that his route was nearly direct north-westward, until arriving at Kermi, a village North-East of Julamerk. Under the date of August 24, 1846, in reply to a question as to the comparative latitude of Julamerk and Oroomiah, he says, "As to the latitude of Julamerk, I can only conjecture, as we had no instruments with us to make observations. My opinion is, and Mr. Breath's" (his companion in the tour) "agrees with mine, that Julamerk is farther North than Oroomiah, say ten or twenty miles, if not more."

Still farther, after leaving the church of Mar Georga, Dr. Wright pursued a westerly course about two hours, to the head waters of the Khabor, down which he went south-westward five and a half hours. Some seven hours farther on, part of the time going eastward even, he reached a castle of the Artooshai Koords.\* Afterwards, leaving the

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\* The reader will observe that this location of the Artooshai Koords accords nearly with the range of mountains bearing that name, as laid down on my map. Concerning this range, I would here add, that from the Zab

Khabor, he went West and South-West, and after a twenty-four hours' ride reached Dergullé, which is a Koordish town (according to Dr. Grant, who passed between the places June 13, 1843,) eighteen miles North-East of Jesiré.

Finally, it gives me no little pleasure to refer to an unpublished work of the late Dr. Grant, as affording the best authority upon the question under examination. As the tour and publication of Dr. Ainsworth followed close upon those of Grant in 1840-1, the latter felt greatly interested, in his three subsequent tours, to verify or disprove the accuracy of his former map. In the work now referred to, entitled by him, *Life in Koordistan*, I find the following statement under the date of August 16, 1842. He was then going to Ashitha from the pasture grounds of the Melek of Chumba, North of Malota, in company with Mar Shimon, the Nestorian Patriarch. He says, "After crossing the brook called by Ainsworth the river of Itha, we rode four hours to the top of a mountain commanding a most extended view. From here we saw Zacho, which by compass lay directly West-South-West;" and he adds, "this was afterwards verified by counter observation." These two observations of Dr. Grant seem to *prove* the inaccuracy of the map of the Royal Geographical Society; for the compass used by Dr. Grant was exceedingly delicate, having a line needle some three inches in length; and as it was applied to both ends of the course, no variation conceivable can account for the difference between the direction West-South-West, and that of West by North, as it is laid down by Dr. Ainsworth.

Between Dr. Grant and Dr. Ainsworth, there is another important geographical question at issue, which it seems desirable to settle. We refer to the large stream laid down by Dr. Ainsworth under the name of the Little Zab. Is there any such branch of the Zab extending fifty or sixty miles to the North, in the direction of Van? From the smallness of the mouth of the stream alledged to have this remote origin, I might doubt as to the allegation; but happily the question can be settled without having resort to mere

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westward it is exceedingly well marked, being as it were a vast tide rising above the broken, irregular waves of mountains on both sides of it. Its course was therefore carefully noted as we crossed one of its peaks.

conjecture. Dr. Wright, having traversed the country between the Zab and the Khabor, in the precise region involved in the question, is a witness whose testimony cannot be set aside. In the note dated August 24, 1846, referred to above, Dr. Wright thus speaks, "The only river to the West of the church of Mar George, is the Khabor,—a range of mountains intervening. Just East of the church is a small stream, a branch of the Zab." Upon such authority, there can be no hesitation in striking out the Little Zab of Dr. Ainsworth, and in laying down the Khabor in accordance with its position on the map published by Dr. Grant, in the spring of 1841. This I have done upon the small chart, and I have added the Hazil branch of the Khabor, which is a river so large as to be crossed with rafts, about nine hours from Jesiré, or three-fourths of the distance from Jesiré to Zacho. The river Van, six hours from Jesiré, I have also laid down, although much smaller than the Hazil, as its name seems to import a distant source near the city of that name, and indeed I was informed that its origin is as thus indicated.

Among other objects of our tour, an important one was to ascertain, by approximation, the population of the Mountain Nestorian districts. For this purpose I counted, as accurately as practicable, the houses in every village which we visited, and in other cases I sought to arrive, by inquiries, as near to the true number as possible. In the following list of the villages of Tiary, the numbers unmarked are actual counts, those marked with an interrogation are the estimates of Dr. Grant, and those marked with two interrogations are estimates derived directly from natives. When Dr. Ainsworth's spelling differs from mine, I have added it in brackets. Rumpta and Kalayatha are clusters, the first, of ten villages, and the other, of seven. Berawola was given me as the name of several villages, so distinct as to be separated by ranges of hills; but as I could obtain no other name for either of them, I have included all in one.

|                               |                           |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Ashitha (Ashitah), . . . 300? | Bizizu, . . . . . 12??    |
| Bedyalatha, . . . . . 14      | Chumba, . . . . . 20      |
| Bemeriga, . . . . . 15        | Chumba-ber-Hai, . . . . 4 |
| Berawola, . . . . . 89        | Chumba d' Besusina, . . 2 |
| Besusina, . . . . . 18        | Chumba d' Hatha, . . . 14 |

|                                      |      |                            |      |
|--------------------------------------|------|----------------------------|------|
| Chumba d' Isku, . . . . .            | 4.   | Malota (Malotah), . . . .  | 15   |
| Chumba d' Karora, . . .              | 3    | Mar Sawa, . . . . .        | 1    |
| Chumba d' Koordhaya, . .             | 7    | Matha Kusra, . . . . .     | 50   |
| Chumba d' Tissu, . . . .             | 5    | Merga, . . . . .           | 60?  |
| Chumba d' Waltwai, . .               | 3    | Minyanish (Miniyani), . .  | 80?  |
| Chumba Smoka, . . . . .              | 4    | Musra, . . . . .           | 2    |
| Chumba Tena, . . . . .               | 4    | Oriatha, . . . . .         | 12?? |
| Chummiktha, . . . . .                | 5    | Rawola d' Nai, . . . . .   | 12   |
| Dadush, . . . . .                    | 30?? | Roma Smoka, . . . . .      | 4    |
| Derawa d' Walto, . . .               | 19   | Rumpta, . . . . .          | 91?? |
| Ishik Nahra, . . . . .               | 9??  | Salaberka, . . . . .       | 160? |
| Kalayatha (Kala Atha), .             | 36?? | Serspidho (Teraspino), . . | 62   |
| Khan Dadush, . . . . .               | 3    | Shurt, . . . . .           | 15?? |
| Koo (Kiyau), . . . . .               | 20?? | Siyadhor, . . . . .        | 12   |
| Legippa, . . . . .                   | 20?? | Zawitha (Zawitah), . . .   | 60?  |
| Lizan, . . . . .                     | 200? | Zerawa, . . . . .          | 6??  |
| Mabua, . . . . .                     | 20?  |                            |      |
| Total of houses in Tiyary, . . . . . |      |                            | 1522 |

In estimating the population of the Mountain Nestorian districts from the number of houses, it is necessary to make a liberal allowance of individuals to each, probably not less than ten. Supposing, then, that some villages may have been omitted in the above estimate of Tiyary, we are warranted in setting down its population as at least fifteen thousand. From independent inquiries made of several intelligent Nestorians, both at Mosul and in the Mountains, the Patriarch himself being one of the number, and with the help also of Dr. Grant's *Life in Koordistan*, I made out, in 1844, an estimate similar to the above, of all the Nestorian tribes, and the result convinced me that the whole Christian population of Koordistan, belonging to this sect, at the commencement of the difficulties in 1843, did not exceed, nor in any way vary much from fifty thousand souls. It is to be hoped that the reduction of this country by the Turks, now nearly if not entirely realized, will remove the barriers which have heretofore excluded this people from intercourse with the Christian world, and that the missionaries at Oroomiah will hereafter be able to fill up the blank, yet existing, in our knowledge of one of the most ancient and interesting of Christian sects.

ARTICLE IV.

JOURNAL

OF A

TOUR FROM OROOMIAH TO MOSUL,

THROUGH THE

KOORDISH MOUNTAINS,

AND A

VISIT TO THE RUINS OF NINEVEH.

BY

REV. JUSTIN PERKINS, D.D.,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN PERSIA.

(Read May 24, 1850.)



# JOURNAL

## OF A

### TOUR FROM OROOMIAH TO MOSUL.

*April 25, 1849.*—Leaving my home at Seir, at 7 o'clock, A. M. I started for Mosul. I rode to the city, and remained there till 1 o'clock, P. M. engaged in completing my preparations for the journey.

We rode to Takky, a Nestorian village near Ardishai, and stopped for the night with Priest Shaleeta, who accompanied us from the city. Ardishai and Takky are about fifteen miles South-South-East of the city of Oroomiah. They are large villages, the two containing from twelve to fifteen hundred inhabitants.

*April 26.*—Mar Gabriel accompanied us on our way as far as to the Barandooz river, about two miles from his village. He dashed through the swollen stream, with his characteristic boyishness, the water rising to his horse's back, while we preferred to cross the bridge, which was near at hand. Our road to-day lay near the lake, and its direction was South by East. After proceeding five or six miles, we halted an hour for the muleteers to bait their horses. As we looked back, the immense plain of Oroomiah lay stretched out before us in all its grandeur and loveliness, which, at this verdant season, more than any other, utterly defy description. Reloading our horses, we crossed a gravelly ridge which runs down to the lake from the western mountains, and thus passed into the small district of Dole, which is the southern extremity of the plain of Oroomiah, corresponding to the district of Anzel, in which Gavalan is situated, at the northern extremity. Dole is a very fertile district, shut in between the Koordish mountains and the lake. We stopped for the night in the



lower part of it, at the village of Kergân, which is perched on a bold promontory that stretches a short distance into the lake. The lake is gaining upon the village by gradually undermining it, the soil at the base of the hill on which it stands being sand, which is overlaid by thick rocky strata of conglomerate. We passed along the high cliff thus formed. It hung frightfully over our heads, while the waves dashed angrily below.

Our stage to-day was short, not more than sixteen miles; but our muleteers, being from Kergân, must stop there with their families, for the night.

We were invited to take lodgings in an upper room of the highest house in the village, belonging to Kareem Khan of Oroomiah, who is the owner of Kergân, and occupies this house only when he happens to be in the village, usually some part of the summer. The views of the lake from this point are very extensive, and almost enchanting.

At evening, a villager with gun in hand brought to us a present of a pigeon, which he had shot, and said to us, as he presented it, "Such, Sir, may your enemies be," an incident that naturally reminded us of the terms in which the death of Absalom was reluctantly announced to his anxious father by Cush: "Is the young man Absalom safe? and Cush answered, 'The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee, to do thee hurt, be as that young man is.'" Another villager brought us the finest flower that I ever beheld, which he had picked, in its wildness, on the neighboring mountains. It had the appearance of a large bouquet, and it was only by inspection that we could be persuaded that the whole grew upon a single stem. It consisted of some fifteen beautiful tulip-flowers, entirely distinct, which encircled the stem, bending gracefully downward, while a rich tuft of long green leaves rose in the midst, and hung over the tulips, as if to give a modest blushing air to the splendid cluster, by partially veiling their brilliant crimson color.

*April 27.*—Our road to-day lay near the lake, most of the way. We left the district of Dole, by passing over green meadows and fertile wheat fields three or four miles, and then, crossing low rocky ridges, entered the district of Sooldooz. On a former occasion, almost fourteen years ago, I travelled this way by the upper road, from the village

of Sheitanava, in Dole, to Negaddeh, the principal town of Sooldooz; but the danger from the Koords on the mountains above was now considered as too great to allow us to go that way; and even on the lower road, near the lake, we were pointed, in a deep ravine, to the graves of several Persians recently murdered there by the Koords, and to a cave in a rocky ridge, near by, that is much frequented as a den of robbers. And as we advanced toward Sooldooz, the people on the way expressed great surprise that we had come over the fearful stage unharmed. There is a great deal of disorder in this part of Persia, at the present time, resulting from the negligence and inefficiency of its miserable rulers; and robberies and murders are very frequent.

The day we left Oroomiah, we observed a few very small locusts, by the road-side, and we had seen increasing numbers all the way, as we proceeded. But to-day, some of the declivities along which we passed were literally covered with them. Their early appearance presents a melancholy prospect for the inhabitants, especially the poor, who are now obliged to pay four times the ordinary price for grain, on account of the ravages of this same scourge, the locusts, in this district, the past two years.

After passing down upon the plain of Sooldooz, we proceeded two miles, and came to the river Jedder, which flows down to the lake from the West. It was now overflowing all its banks, owing to the melting snow on the upper ridges of the surrounding mountains, as well as the rain that was falling. The river, which is ordinarily one hundred and fifty feet wide at this place, now spread itself out to a breadth of five or six hundred feet, and was so deep that we were obliged to hire strong men to carry our loads over, on their shoulders. After reaching the southern bank of the Jedder, we rode out of our direct road, two miles, to the village of Rakhtana, which contains six Nestorian families, for the sake of stopping among our own people.

Sooldooz is a very fertile district, more than twenty miles long from East to West, and from ten to fifteen miles broad. It is shut from the lake by a low, broken ridge of hills, and enclosed on its other sides by grassy mountains. Immense quantities of grain are annually exported from Sooldooz. In this time of scarcity, we passed many loads of wheat from this district.

*April 28.*—We proceeded five fursaks, more than twenty miles, to-day, in a South-South-East direction, to the town of Saouj Boolak. Sooldooz is at the south-western corner of the lake, and our stage to-day led us back from it, among the Koordish mountains. We gradually rose, after leaving the plain of Sooldooz, till we reached the top of a high mountain-ridge. From thence our way was down a steep descent, and then we wound up another ridge, from the top of which we saw the town of Saouj Boolak lying directly below us, in a small, deep valley, encompassed on all sides by mountains. Near the town we crossed the Saouj Boolak river, by an old high stone bridge of four arches, two of which are broken down, and their places supplied by timbers covered over with sticks and loose stones. This bridge, which is about one hundred and fifty feet long, was originally built of fine hewn limestone. Just on the southern bank of the river are several soda-springs which deposit a species of white limestone, and grave-stones are hewn from a quarry of the same near by. The town probably takes its name, *Suouj Boolak*, or Cold Spring, from a pure spring just below it, said to be remarkable for the coldness of its water.

Several showers fell in the course of our ride to-day, and hail in one instance. But our India-rubber cloaks shielded us from harm, or exposure; and the scenery was delightful among the mountains, now green to their tops, except a few patches of snow, and with large flocks here and there grazing on their declivities. The season is now very pleasant, and favorable for travelling over these regions, though we may expect more or less rain.

The town of Saouj Boolak lies directly on the south-eastern bank of the river, half a mile below the bridge. It is unwalled. Being low, and surrounded by high mountains, it must be very hot in summer. It is a Koordish town, of twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants. The houses are built of the dark red sandstone and limestone soil of the valley, which the rains soon wash down from the walls. Most of the roofs project a little, and thus partially protect the buildings.

There are four Armenian families in Saouj Boolak, with one of whom we took lodgings for the Sabbath.

Saouj Boolak is a place of a good deal of trade. In the bazaar, we saw merchants from Tabreez, Mosul, and Oroomiah. It is particularly important for its trade in gall-nuts, which are brought to this town from the different parts of Koordistan, and thence transported to Constantinople and Europe, by way of Erzeroom and Trebizond, and to Russia, by way of the Caspian Sea.

There are about a hundred families of Jews in Saouj Boolak, and we had met with some at Muhammed Shah, the last village in Sooldooz. Thus scattered over all these regions is the remnant of Israel.

*April 29.*—In the evening, an Armenian priest from a village eight or ten miles distant, called Daralek, stated to us that there are fifteen Armenian families in his village, and ten Nestorian families, the latter, also, in their deficiency of a priest of their own people, looking to him as their spiritual shepherd. These ten Nestorian families, and one family in the town, are now the only Nestorians in the district of Saouj Boolak, which formerly contained a considerable population of that people.

*April 30.*—Being unable to obtain horses, we were obliged to linger at Saouj Boolak another day. In the afternoon, we visited the soda-springs already mentioned. There are six or eight of these springs, a few rods apart, around each of which has arisen a conical mound of soft white limestone, from the accumulating deposits of the water. Mr. Stocking carried with him some tartaric acid, which we mixed with tumblers of soda-water from the spring, and drank to our own satisfaction, and the great astonishment of the natives who accompanied us, and who before knew nothing of the valuable properties of these springs. A Koord who accompanied us stated that there are marble quarries in a mountain about two or three miles to the South-West of Saouj Boolak; and there were slabs of marble in a grave-yard near by, said to have been taken from that mountain.

*May 1.*—Considerable rain fell during the last night, but the weather was perfectly clear this morning, for the first time since we left Oroomiah, though the sun had frequently appeared, during this time, at short intervals.

At Saouj Boolak our course changed from South-East to South-West. Hitherto, we had been receding somewhat

from Mosul, instead of advancing toward it. Now, we were happy to turn our faces directly toward the place of our destination. This circuitous route is probably the best, and perhaps the only practicable one, at this season. The district of Ooshnoo, through which the more direct route passes, has been in a very disturbed state, ever since the Koords of that place made their irruption upon a part of the plain of Oroomiah, last autumn. Besides, the deep snows on the high mountains between Ooshnoo and Ravandooz would doubtless render the passing very difficult, if not impossible, on that route, so early in the season. The same obstacle, deep snows, would also prevent our going, at this time of the year, through the mountains, by the still shorter route among the Nestorians.

On the top of the highest ridge on the route between Ooshnoo and Ravandooz, which is called the Pass of *Galeed Sheen*, meaning in the Koordish language, the azure-pillar, is a dark marble pillar, eight or ten feet high, placed on a large pedestal, on which are inscriptions in the cuneiform character. This pillar was visited a few years ago by Major Rawlinson, who copied the inscriptions, and supposes the pillar to commemorate the journey of Alexander, on this route, in his pursuit of Darius.\*

The locusts are now making their appearance on the declivities around the town of Saouj Boolak, to the no small apprehension and sorrow of the inhabitants. There is a certain bird in the East, resembling the sparrow in size, which eagerly devours the locusts, and there is a prevalent belief, among all classes in these lands, that water from some reputedly sacred localities attracts this bird. At Shiraz, for instance, there is a spring which is regarded as such a locality; and at Ardebil is another. A bottle of water, purchased with money, from the Moolah who presides over the spring, was lately brought from this latter locality to Saouj Boolak, as an antagonist to the locusts. And yesterday there was a rumor abroad, that a flock of the sapient birds, attracted by the power of the mysterious water, was ap-

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\* Dr. Perkins is not entirely correct in this statement. Major Rawlinson "could only copy a few isolated letters on the eastern face of the slab, which" he adds "are however certainly of the Assyrian type." See *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. x. p. 25, and *Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. x. p. 21.

proaching the town; and a band of musicians was immediately mustered, to go out and escort them, as a token of the popular joy; but the whole proved to be only a rumor. The bird did not respond to the noisy welcome by making its appearance.

*May 2.*—We rose early, our horses were soon at our quarters, and we were on our way. We recrossed the stone bridge by which we had approached Saouj Boolak, and followed the narrow valley of the river, on the northern bank, our course being a little to the South of West. The mountain scenery, on each side of the river, was at once grand and beautiful, and strongly reminded me of the first stage on the route from Trebizond to Erzeroom, and vividly recalled my impressions and feelings on my first land journey in these eastern countries, which was on that route. The mountains were verdant to their summits; and small fields of wheat, and thrifty orchards of the pear and apricot, skirted the margins of the river, at frequent intervals.

About five miles above Saouj Boolak is the small village of Byram Shah, a Koordish village, as are all others in these regions. A short distance above Byram Shah our road turned more directly toward the West, and at length the river, so deep and furious below that it could not be crossed except by the bridge, being now much swollen by the melting snow on the mountains, suddenly disappeared, and we saw only small brooks gliding down as many sloping valleys, which radiated in the mountains before us, from the larger one that we had followed. Near this junction is the village of Diarbakoor.

Our course now lay on one of the large brooks, along the margin of which we wound our way upward and still upward, beguiled by the charming views, the odors, and the sounds, that regaled our senses, till the brook had become a tiny rill, and we found ourselves almost at the summit of a snow-capped ridge. Our enjoyment of nature had been exquisite, during our ascent. There were, still, small fields of wheat, and clusters of apricot, pear, apple, and walnut trees, on the margin of the brook, the trees seeming in some places to grow wild, and now in luxuriant blossom and foliage, mingling their various hues like sheets of brilliant nasegays. There was a rich fragrance from the fresh smiling flowers that decked the mountain sides; and the

sweet notes of many warbling birds afforded us most grateful music.

We halted for the night near an encampment of nomad Koords. We had come a stage of only about three hours, fourteen or fifteen miles, but were told that there was no other stopping-place beyond us, near human habitations, that we could reach to-day. The place of our encampment was so charmingly rural, and commanded such a variety of grand and beautiful views, that we were not very reluctant to halt, though we had made but a short day's journey.

Till now, we had not pitched our tents. The rainy weather had deterred us. To-day for the first time on our journey, therefore, we tasted the luxury of encamping on the green grass, which was on a level with patches of snow, of inhaling the air pure from its native heavens, and of looking abroad freely on the wonders and delights that a divine hand had spread out around us, instead of being caged in a dark, filthy, native hovel, surcharged with not the most agreeable odors, and swarming with loathsome vermin. We could now dip water from the crystal spring near our tents, and ice it with the snow that lay sparkling in the bright sun near by; and we could obtain plenty of fresh milk, *yoghoord* and *kemak*, from our migratory neighbors.

On the southern bank of the Saouj Boolak river, about two miles above the bridge which is near the town, we observed to-day several more soda-springs, marked by their white conical mounds, like those already mentioned. The common rocks on our route are a bluish limestone, and more or less red sandstone; and such are the prevailing rocks in all these regions. Several clusters of large juniper trees, by the road-side, also arrested my attention to-day, and, on inquiring, I was told that this tree is very common in all parts of Koordistan, and on some of the islands of the lake of Oroomiah.

May 3.—About day-break, we were waked up by a sudden gust of wind, which, with almost the violence of a tornado, caused our tents to dance like witches, and the rain soon fell in a heavy shower. Our tent-pins began to give way, and they would have failed, and let the tents down upon us, had not the ropes been immediately secured by means of large stones. The rain continued to pour down for an hour, and our prospect, it must be confessed, was

sufficiently dreary, high up the mountain, as we were, with no human habitations near us, except those of our rude, nomad neighbors. The clouds, however, at length cleared up, and the rising sun broke out upon us almost as suddenly as the storm had done, and it was all the more grateful to us, in the drenched state of our tents, from the strength and suddenness of the contrast.

We proceeded about two miles, still in a western direction, and reached the mountain-top. From the lofty summit of this ridge, scenes of most sublime grandeur suddenly opened upon our view. Far below and beyond us lay the plain of Lejân; and along its southern border stretched the great mountain-range which forms the general boundary between Turkey and Persia, now covered with snow half way to its base, and with its summit towering in the dim distance, and blending with the skies; while its lower sections, and the lower ridges that were nearer to us, of various heights and every diversity of contour, were in one case clothed in the softest and most beautiful green, and in another projecting in the roughest and boldest crags and profiles of naked sterile rock, this endless variety of aspect stretching away thirty, forty or fifty miles, and limited only by the horizon.

Our course now changed again to a little South of West, and lay down a steep, narrow, rocky ravine, four or five miles. The plain of Lejân then began to open distinctly to our view, in a narrow valley, which gradually expanded, as we proceeded, until one of the most picturesque and charming landscapes that I ever beheld, filled our vision; and it was of such vast extent that the eye wearied in attempting to take it in.

The plain of Lejân is naturally one of the finest in the East. It must be nearly fifty miles in length, and from two to twenty in breadth, sweeping around from the north-eastern extremity, where we entered it, in the form of a crescent, to the West and South, the middle portion of it being much the broadest. This plain is gently undulating. Its soil is rich, and well watered; but most of it lies entirely waste, its Koordish masters and occupants having little disposition to cultivate it. A small river is gradually formed from the mountain ravines on the north-eastern side, which the inhabitants denominate simply *Rubri*, or the river; and



another, of about the same size, the Levan, enters the plain from the mountains on the South-West. The two, beside many smaller streams, sufficient to sustain thrifty villages all over the district, uniting their waters, flow onward to the South, toward the Persian district of Serdasht.

On the part of the plain which we first entered, we observed several clusters of juniper trees, shading a few graves, which, as our muleteers told us, mark very sacred localities; and they proceeded to entertain us with some account of the marvellous cures performed here, and the judgments which the presiding spirits of these places are said to have visited on many persons, dispensing them at will, respectively, to their favorites and those whom they chance to dislike. The muleteers also told us that, among the other merits of this charming country, it is much celebrated for the production of a great variety of medicinal plants and grasses, physicians from India, even, coming here to gather them.

Lejân is nominally Persian soil, and is reckoned as belonging to Sooldooz, from which it is separated only by a low range of mountains. But the wild Bilbos Koords who inhabit it, acknowledge little allegiance to any government. The Persians of Sooldooz, for instance, two years ago, repaired an old fort in Lejân, to aid them in maintaining their authority; but the Koords soon summarily demolished it, the garrison hardly escaping with their lives.

Our stage to-day was about thirty miles. We were on our horses nine hours, travelling slowly, at the pace of a caravan. We encamped for the night at the south-western extremity of the plain, just at the base of the high, snowy mountains that here form the boundary between Persia and Turkey, near the village of Hânee. This village is the residence of Kara-ma Agha, the most prominent chief of the large, powerful tribe of the Bilbos Koords, and the same who was the most conspicuous leader of the Koordish hordes which invaded Oroomiah last autumn, and sacked some fifteen villages on the southern part of the plain, the nearer chiefs of Ooshnee having implored him to come to their aid, and share in the spoil. Our anticipations of being the guest of the man whose name is so terrible as a robber, were naturally somewhat peculiar, and not altogether agreeable. We however failed to see the chief, who was absent

from his village, having gone to-day to Ooshnoo. His eldest son, Mourâd Agha, about thirty years old, welcomed us very cordially, and of his own accord immediately ordered for us a sumptuous supper, which, in compliance with our choice, was brought to our tents, where he and a younger brother joined us at the table, and spent the evening. He is a fine-looking man, and generous and hospitable, yet doubtless, like his father, lawless in his habits, and of a bloody disposition. He treated us with great respect, and with the utmost kindness.

This young chief stated to us that he had never known Europeans to pass through Lejân before, though they may have done it. There certainly is, however, more or less danger in travelling here, at the present time. Our party were thrown into a momentary apprehension to-day, when about ten miles distant from our stopping place, on meeting a Bilbos chief whom our muleteers, as he approached us, announced to us as a noted robber, or as they expressed it, "one who fears not God, nor regards man." This chief had with him fifteen or twenty attendants, horsemen, all armed with spears, swords and pistols. Broad, silent desolation reigned around us, in every direction; it was a cloudy day, and toward evening—a fit place and a fit time for bloody men and bloody deeds. The party spread themselves out as they approached us, and drew up around us, so that we were of course entirely in their power. They halted, and the chief demanded who we were, when our principal muleteer adroitly produced a letter which he had procured and brought with him, from a distinguished merchant in Saonj Boolak, addressed to Paroo Khan, an uncle of this chief, bespeaking for us kind treatment. We had failed of seeing that uncle, his village, Peesâv, the principal village of Lejân, being several miles distant to the right of our road. The muleteer therefore presented the letter to this chief, assuming that he would extend to us the favor requested of the uncle. The wild Koord acknowledged the compliment, with true oriental politeness, by promptly offering to turn about, and escort us to our *menzil*. We declined his courteous offer; he politely bowed, thus signifying our release; and we passed on, grateful for the deliverance.

To-morrow we hope to enter Turkey, where there is a more efficient government, and much less danger from the Koords.

Our host, the young Bilbos chief, expressed a strong desire to be under Turkish, instead of Persian rule, which is a prevalent feeling among most of the Koords in Persia; and it is not strange, considering that, in common with the Turks, they are all of the Soonee sect.

In crossing the plain of Lejân, we observed the mounds of the ancient fire-worshippers, which are to be seen also in Ooshnoo, Sooldooz, and other districts of Azerbijan.

May 4.—Mourâd Agha, the young Bilbos chief, was again with us at breakfast; he furnished the meal, as he did last evening, which consisted of bread, *yogoord*, and boiled *doshap*, or molasses. We held a pleasant conversation of an hour with him, this morning, in the course of which we told him about railroads, electro-magnetic telegraphs, etc., etc., to his no small astonishment and gratification. And he, to take his turn in the narration of marvels, then stated to us an item of important information, which, he said, had just reached him. A remarkably strong wind had arisen, over beyond Constantinople, so strong that it laid bare a portion of the bed of the sea, and even swept the sand from its bottom, and there revealed a mountain of pure gold! This wonderful locality, the chief continued, is about eight hours, thirty or forty miles, this side of England, and the English had placed a guard over the gold. We told him that we had not before heard of the facts as he stated them. He replied, "There can be no mistake about it. The English Consul at Mosul has received the intelligence, and a Moolah there, who saw the letter containing it, wrote these facts to us." This, doubtless, is one version of the story of the discovery of gold in California, as now current in the wilds of Koordistan.

The chief also told us, as a wonder of another description, which he supposed would interest us, that there is an ancient, lofty, hewn stone-pillar, according to his statements more than twenty feet high, in Lejân, not far from the road over which we had travelled. He stated the color of the pillar to be dark, like the celebrated pillar of Ooshnoo. He did not seem to know whether or not it contained inscriptions. We had not time to return and examine the place defined, and the insecurity of the district would have been an obstacle to our lingering, had we had leisure for the purpose. The pillar is said to be near the village of Lighân.

Our morning visit with the chief made us rather late in starting, but we regretted this the less, as rain, during the night, had drenched our tents, and we wished to dry them by the morning sun, before proceeding, that they might not impose an intolerable burden on the horse that carried them.

Leaving the extensive and charming plain of Lejân, just where we encamped for the night, near the village of Hânee, we commenced ascending the great mountain-range which forms the boundary between Turkey and Persia, the same which, branching off from Mount Ararat, at Bayazeed, runs toward the South and South-East, passes about twenty miles West of Oroomiah, and advancing still, stretches away to the plains of Assyria. The ascent was quite steep. Reaching the top of the first ridge, we had a magnificent view of the beautiful country over which we passed yesterday, and the lofty mountains that bound it. Then descending, and crossing a small elevated, grassy valley, which communicates through a ravine with the plain of Lejân, we ascended another, higher and much broader ridge, passing over a number of patches of deep snow. Here we encountered a heavy shower of rain and sleet, which would have drenched and chilled us, had we not been well guarded by cloaks. The pass over the high, broad ridge which we were crossing, is skirted on either hand by still more lofty mountain-peaks, now covered with deep snow, much of which remains during the year. These mountains, as well as Galeeâ Sheen, the pass on the route from Ooshnoo, which is just to the North of them, are distinctly visible at Mosul. Springs soon began to appear, all running westward, and instead of hastening to pour themselves into the lake of Oroomiah, like those on the former part of our journey, destined to mingle with the waters of the Tigris, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. This reminded us that we had now crossed the boundary, and were in Turkey.

Near the summit of the boundary-ridge is a large ancient cemetery, partially shaded by clusters of large juniper trees, and containing one tomb as large as a small building. The place is regarded by the Koords as very sacred, being hallowed by the ashes of a venerable saint, called Sheikh Muhammed. On the graves, and around them, are many beautiful flowers, probably placed there, of the kind which

we met with in the district of Dole. I marvelled from whence so many dead had been brought to the mountain-top for interment; but the secret was soon explained by our coming to villages.

Balak is the name of the first district, on this route, in Turkey. It is in the province of Ravandooz, and in the pashalik of Bagdad. It is a large district, extending to a considerable distance beyond the town of Ravandooz. Our stage to-day was about thirty miles, in a direction still a little to the South of West. After entering Turkey, our way lay down a narrow, steep, rocky valley. The numerous springs, and the melting snow on the mountains all around us, soon enlivened our way by a large stream, which was constantly swelling its waters by receiving tributaries from the smaller valleys on either hand. This proved to be the Ravandooz river, an important branch of the Zab, the ancient Zabatus of Xenophon. The lower sections of the valley were at length dotted with many small green fields of wheat, and with oak bushes and small trees, from which the gall-nut is gathered, scattered all about on the mountain-side, here and there adorned by wild grape-vines, gracefully creeping up their branches. The whole scene, so different from the bare mountains of Persia, reminded us strongly of our loved native land.

Proceeding down the deep valley, the mountains on either side piercing, and often peering far above the clouds, we at length came to the village of Rayat, at a point where two other considerable streams enter the one we were following. Here our loads were suddenly seized by some rude-looking Koords, who proved to be custom-house men, and who supposed we might have merchandize. They were so reluctant to believe our declaration to the contrary, that they actually led away the horse that carried our provision-boxes, to examine them; and sharp words passed between them and our muleteers and companions, and blows were threatened on the part of the Koords, before they would yield the point and let the horse go. Then our men, in their turn, feeling that they had the advantage, enjoyed the satisfaction of frightening the other party, by taking down their names, and threatening to represent their rude conduct at Ravandooz, which the Koords earnestly besought them not to do. Annoying as was this interference, it was still a grateful

token that we were in a land of government, order, and general security.

As we proceeded, our principal muleteer, who, it seems, was won over by the men at the custom-house, to act as their apologist, repeatedly, when he met persons, came up to my horse, took hold of the skirt of my garment, and then addressed those who were passing him. I could not understand the jingle of his Koordish conferences, but on inquiry I found that he was telling them to announce to their friends at the custom-house, that he had hold of the skirt of my garment, entreating me not to represent them to their superiors, and had hope of prevailing on me not to do it; while he had, in fact, said nothing to me on the subject. Such adepts are even rude Koords in the art of finesse. This same muleteer, to enhance his own consequence on the road, was in the habit of magnifying ours, calling us consuls, and great consuls; and in one instance he told the people of a village which we were passing, that he had charge of four consuls, on their way to Mosul, an English, a French, a Persian, and a Turkish, Mar Yohannaa and Deacon Isaac being pointed out as the two last. The ignorant, simple villagers were easily duped by such statements.

The village of Rayat has a strong castle, built of stone and lime, and the same is true of most other villages in this valley, and, indeed, in this district, the fortifications having been erected fifteen or twenty years ago, by Muhammed Pasha, or *Koor Meer*, Blind Chief, so called from the defect of an eye, the powerful chief of Ravandooz who rebelled against the government of the Sultan, and spread ravages throughout Koordistan, and sent terror into all the adjacent parts of Turkey and Persia.

Proceeding still down the valley, we came to Derbent, a fine village, though not large, snugly lodged in the fork formed by the Ravandooz river and a large tributary which enters it from the North. So great is the descent of this river, and so powerful the stream, that, were it in a civilized land, it might turn the wheels of thousands of factories, drawing wool for manufacture from the myriads of flocks throughout Koordistan; and the same may be said of many other similar rivers, among the lofty mountains of these wild regions. The site of Derbent is so steep and narrow

that the houses, which are built of stone, are constructed in tiers, the base of one tier being on a level with the top of another. Beautiful trees skirt the streams above and below the village, and small fields of wheat, and even a vineyard of a few rods square, were smiling near it.

The rocky mountain-sides were now covered with a thick growth of moss, the sight of which also reminded us gratefully of home, as we seldom see mosses in Persia, owing probably to the dryness of the atmosphere.

Proceeding a few miles below Derbent, our road being rocky, and often very narrow and difficult, where a single mis-step of our horses would have dashed us down a hundred or more feet, into the foaming river, we reached an expansion of the narrow valley, the village of Memeháll lying back on a gentle declivity half a mile distant from the road. Here we halted for the night, deeply impressed with the wonders and sublimities still spread out around us by the Creator's hand.

A Koordish traveller who passed along, told us that a great Turkish army had assembled at Ravandooz, to take a rebel chief, "so vast an army," said the Koord, "that one would call it the resurrection." On reaching Ravandooz, we learned that a thousand troops had come from Bagdad to the neighboring district of Khoy, to chastise some refractory Koords, who had fled towards Persia as the army advanced. The rude peasant who first reported the matter to us, must have been very much over-excited by the sight of a thousand regular troops.

*May 5.*—Although we pitched our tents last night about half a mile from any village, here in the wilds of Koordistan, we still slept securely, without a watch; which strongly impresses us with the fact that there is a very different government in Turkey from that of Persia. Fifteen years ago, this region was regarded as entirely impassable for Europeans. But fearful Koor Meer was at length conquered by the concentrated efforts of the Turks and the Persians, and these mountains have since been brought into effectual subjection.

Our stage to-day was about thirty miles, on a course still nearly West. Following down the Ravandooz river, we soon left the expansion of the valley in which we had encamped. This was succeeded by a rocky pass, so narrow,

steep and frightful, that we deemed it safe to dismount. There was only a shelving parapet, for a considerable distance, along the side of the cliff which descended a hundred feet below us, almost perpendicularly, to the river, and towered many hundred feet above us. This rocky pass was succeeded by another expansion of the valley, broader than the first, and that again by another rocky pass, bolder and wilder than the former, and so on. The sides of the mountains were clothed with a rich growth of gall-nut oaks, and the lower declivities, with numberless beautiful fields of wheat and barley, nearly to the edge of the river, the margins of which were skirted by thrifty trees and hedges of various kinds. Beside the gall-nut oak, the juniper, the walnut and the mulberry were very common, and grapevines, growing wild, often hung so thickly over our path as to impede our passing. But we rejoiced to be hedged up by trees, so rare on the desert mountains of Persia. The scenery, on the whole of to-day's stage, was marked by beauty, grandeur, and sublimity; and such was the variety, combining all the elements of each, from the frowning snow-capped summit down to the smiling vineyard, that it is fruitless to attempt a very minute description.

After following down the eastern branch of the roaring Ravandooz river, about four miles, we crossed the stream by a bridge of timbers covered over with cross-sticks, stones and sand; the river being spanned by the length of a timber, resting on a notch in the cliff on one side, and on a stone abutment on the other.

Following the south-western bank, we then passed three villages, one on the eastern, and two on the western side of the stream, namely, Choman, Rizan, and Omarava. I name them in the order of their location on the river. They consist of miserable stone and earth structures, half buried in the ground, but are surrounded by the rarest charms of rural loveliness, patches of wheat of the purest green, and hedges of fruit-trees, and small vineyards.

At the last village above named, we recrossed the river by a bridge of timbers resting on a stone abutment on each bank, and on two pillars in the stream. Here we left the river, the road, which still follows it, being pronounced by our muleteers so dangerous that, of every two horses that should attempt to travel over it, one at least would fall



and be dashed in pieces. We immediately ascended a high mountain-ridge, a spur of the general range, which is clothed with a heavy forest of gall-nut oak; I might perhaps rather say, an orchard, and yet it was not precisely that, the trees not being in rows, but scattered in careless irregularity, so far apart as to allow a rich growth of grass under them. The descent of this ridge, on the opposite side, was longer and steeper than the ascent. At the foot of it, we came to the village of Chamarakin, similar in appearance to those we had last passed. It lies on the eastern bank of a river of the same name, which is a southern branch of the Ravandooz river, and nearly as large as the main stream where we left it. We here crossed this river by a bridge resting on stone abutments and pillars, like the one at Omarava. Leaving the Chamarakin river, we soon struck one of its tributaries, which we followed up two miles, passing through a more charming growth of trees, shrubs, hedges and wild vines, than we had before seen. The walnut was of great size, and the sycamore, though not tall, was large and very abundant. We soon came to the village of Dergala, which is romantically situated on a high point of land, formed by the junction of the stream with a small tributary. A strong castle crowns the brow of the promontory. Dergala is a large village, and is inhabited entirely by Jews. Several children came running to the road to see us, and one man, calling after us for custom-house duties. They addressed us in the Syriac, which is their native language. Their faces all strikingly indicated their nationality.

We had already encountered several slight showers to-day; but the rain now began to pour down copiously, as we wound our way up another mountain-side. When we had reached the summit, and descended a short distance on the opposite side, our muleteer determined to halt there for the Sabbath; but the place was too elevated to be comfortable, and too distant from any human habitation to allow us to procure provisions. We therefore proceeded, notwithstanding the reluctance of the muleteer, and soon descended one of the steepest declivities I had ever encountered. The rain was still falling profusely,—“the mercy of God,” as the muleteer piously remarked, when some one of our party alluded to the inconvenience which we were likely to experience from it. Our descent would have been rendered

entirely impracticable, by slippery mud, had not the surface of the ground been covered with a layer of crumbled limestone, so thick as to absorb the rain as it fell, which afforded us a deep and easy foothold. This descent was quite long as well as steep. After reaching the bottom of the declivity, we followed down a narrow valley several miles; but the rain still falling, the road becoming very muddy, and our loads wet and heavy, we abandoned the purpose which we had entertained, of reaching Ravandooz, though now within six or eight miles of the town. We halted for the Sabbath near the village of Mâwill, which is situated about half a mile North of the main road. Here, too, we were surrounded by scenery combining the same grandeur, beauty, and variety as before noticed. The valley and plain of Ravandooz appeared toward the West, though still partially shut from us by spurs of the mountains.

We were reminded of the change of climate, to-day, by observing barley in the ear. We have descended hundreds, and probably thousands of feet, since entering the Turkish territory, and shall descend much more before reaching the plains of Assyria and Mesopotamia. This great descent accounts for the overpowering heat of those plains.

The quantity of gall-nuts yielded annually by each bush, or tree, varies from half a dozen to many pounds, according to its size and thriftiness. The labor of gathering them, scattered as the trees and bushes are, over the Koordish mountains, scores and hundreds of miles in different directions, must be immense, furnishing employment to multitudes of men, women and children, for a considerable period every year.

*May 6.*—A bright sun rose upon us this morning, and spread an almost unearthly hue over the charming scenery around us. Although by accident, in our haste, in the rain, we had chosen this as a practicable spot for spending the Sabbath quietly, we could not, in any circumstances, have selected a more desirable situation. We had ascended a low, but bold ridge that runs down from the village near which we had encamped, transversely, to the centre of the valley, and thus commands a fine view of its whole range, up and down, to the distance of fifty or more miles above us, and at least thirty, below, the whole presenting a pano-

rama of green fields, vineyards, grassy hill-sides, and mountain-cliffs, in almost endless succession, all thickly sprinkled over with the gall-nut oaks, which now extended quite to the mountain-tops, excepting a few of the highest points that are covered with snow.

*May 7.*—We were amused this morning by the making out of our reckoning, which, as our attendants were unable to converse with the peasants in Koordish, was attempted by a blind Koordish beggar whom our muleteer had led by the hand, several hours, on Saturday, on his way toward Ravandooz, and who knew a little Turkish. Impressed with the high importance of the agency entrusted to him, he seemed inspired literally to magnify his office as accountant, rattling over and over the list of paras, ten of which make a cent, that we were to pay for the simple articles of food that we had purchased, and reiterating the same at the top of his shrill voice, that we and the villagers might clearly comprehend both the charge for each item, and the sum total, till we were heartily wearied as well as amused with the jingle of his protracted calculations, and directed him to stop.

We proceeded down the valley in which we had encamped for the Sabbath, about three miles toward the West, and then came again upon the Ravandooz river, which dashed down from the East, much increased since we had left it by receiving several tributaries from the mountain-valleys. We now followed down the south-eastern bank of the river, as it roared along through the same variety of grand and beautiful scenery as already described. From the base of the lofty ridge on our left, boiled forth several springs, the waters of which, like small rivers, foaming across our road, rushed down the bank, and mingled with the river below. These springs are very striking natural objects.

At the distance of five or six miles from our stopping place, we came in sight of the famed Ravandooz, now hardly two miles distant. It is situated in an undulating valley, of a few miles in extent, which is entirely surrounded by mountains. The town itself is perched upon a rocky declivity, flanked on the North and West by the Ravandooz river, which here suddenly bends toward the South, and on the East by a tributary that enters the river at this place, both having very high, bold, precipitous, rocky banks,

the tributary having cut a winding furrow in the solid rock, sixteen or eighteen feet wide, and more than twenty feet deep, which perfectly serves the purpose of a fosse. On the South, the town is secured, across the gradually ascending mountain-side, between these rivers, by a strong wall of stone and lime, and several towers. It is naturally a very strong place, from its peculiar position; but it can easily be commanded, and has been commanded, by cannon, from all sides of it. The town is farther guarded by an imposing stone castle, perched on a bold hill on the opposite side of the river, about a mile distant toward the South-West, and by numerous smaller castles and towers, in various directions.

The situation of Ravandooz, in this low valley, is hot and not pleasant, yet it is said to be healthy. It is supposed to contain about fifteen hundred families, eighty of which are Jewish, and the rest Koordish. There are Jews, also, in several neighboring villages, and there is one small village of Papal Nestorians, on the road to Ooshnoo, about four miles distant from Ravandooz. The Jews speak the Syriac language. We wished to obtain a specimen of their dialect, but their suspicious old Rabbi would not consent even to write or to dictate a chapter from the New Testament. Four hundred Turkish troops are stationed at Ravandooz, to aid in governing the town and province. The place does not appear, from without, so large as I have stated; but the houses being built in tiers, the flat roof of one serving as the court of that next above it, are very compact, and may amount to fifteen hundred.

This, then, is the famed Ravandooz, the name of which was so terrible in all these regions, when I first came to Persia, as the seat of Muhammed Pasha, or Koor Meer, as he was familiarly called, who then had twenty thousand wild Koordish warriors in the field, but was finally conquered in 1836, as above stated, by the concentrated efforts of Turkish and Persian armies. He was truly a man of blood. It is related of him, for instance, that on one occasion, when his slumbers on the roof of his lofty castle, in summer, were disturbed by the crying of his infant daughter in the cradle near by, he arose in his wrath, took the child by the hand, and hurled her into the river that roars along in its deep bed at the foot of the castle. "God never gave

the monster another child," said the Koord who related to us this instance of his savage cruelty. The Koords have an elegy on the tragical death of his infant daughter, current among them to this day.

Rassoul Pasha, a brother of Koor Meer, succeeded the latter in the government of Ravandooz. But the Turks at length found that their confidence in him was misplaced, he too discovering symptoms of revolt. Three years ago, he was compelled to flee before an advancing Turkish army, into Persia, from whence, through English interference, he has since been permitted to return as a private person, to reside at Bagdad.

The present governor of Ravandooz is Hâjee Muhammed Agha, an honest Turk. Thus has this wild region been effectually subdued, and the Koords transformed, in a few years, from wild marauders into quiet peasants and husbandmen, and the country, from one too fearful to be entered by Europeans, without imminent peril, into an abode of peace and entire security. Success to the arm of Turkish power that works such changes in Koordistan!

One of the most important expeditions of Muhammed Pasha, or Koor Meer, in the height of his devastating career, was an attempt to subdue Tharee, a short time before I came to Persia. In this attempt he signally failed, and so many of his men were killed in their encounter with the desperate Tiarecans, that, if one of the latter people were to be identified in the region of Ravandooz, he would immediately be slain, to repay blood for blood, unless rescued by the Turks. The savage Kincer, however, laid waste many Christian villages elsewhere, without mercy or partiality, during that expedition. The large Papal village of Elkoosh, and many others in that vicinity, were then sacked and nearly destroyed by him.

Our blind accountant made his appearance at our tent again, soon after we encamped. It would seem that he had also acted as banker for our attendants, with the few shillings of Turkish money in his possession, they not yet having obtained money in that currency. This poor beggar was totally blind, and yet he could distinguish small pieces of money with the nicest accuracy, and seemed to enjoy feeling them, quite as much as if his eyes had rested on the shining metal.

The sound of martial music, toward evening, in the barracks in the town, near which we were encamped, was grateful to our ears, the familiar notes transporting us to our early homes. When we remember, too, what European tactics have done, within the last thirty years, to promote the peace and advance the civilization of Turkey, and recently in these wildest portions of that empire, we find it not in our hearts utterly to repudiate the military profession.

We visited the city, so called, though it hardly deserves to be dignified with the name. The houses are built partly of stone, and partly of very large sun-dried bricks. The bricks are made of mud mixed with a large quantity of cut straw, after the style of Egypt of old. The loose sand-stone soil here is not sufficiently cohesive to serve the purpose of building, without an ample mixture of the straw. Of some of the houses, the lower story is built of stone, and the upper, (for many of them are two stories high,) of this kind of brick. The streets are narrow, crooked, and very filthy. The bazaars are hardly worthy of the name, either for their size or the business done in them. A few petty merchants from Mosul seemed to figure in them the most conspicuously. The gall-nut trade must, however, be extensive here, and very important.

We called on the governor, who is a native of Bagdad, an intelligent and very gentlemanly man. Of his own accord he directed a letter to be prepared, bespeaking for us kind treatment on the road. We congratulated him on the favorable changes in progress in Koordistan, of which he was by no means insensible, while he expressed the hope of still greater changes for the better.

We procured Turkish passports at Ravandooz, which would serve us as travellers in any part of Turkey, for one year. How strange to see a Koordish Moolah, in the wilds of Koordistan, filling out passports for American citizens!

The most influential merchant of Ravandooz, Muhammed Ameen Agha, who is also the vizier of the district, called on us at our tents. He brought to us some ore which he supposed to contain gold, and at his request we took a small quantity of it, proposing to write to him, should we be able to give any valuable information in regard to it. The locality is still a secret with the merchant. He is a very pleasant, intelligent man; has visited Constantinople, Tabreez, and

other cities; and I could hardly persuade myself that so civilized a man had grown up in these dark mountains. He was loud in his praises of the change from Koordish to Turkish rule, though himself a Koord, saying that the taxes are now very moderate, and that nothing is taken in the form of fines, or bribes. We should find it difficult to suppose that so mild and gentlemanly a man had ever been allied to banditti; and yet on inquiry it appeared that this same Muhammed Ameen Agha had accompanied Koor Meer on his unsuccessful attempt against Tiaree, perhaps, however, from constraint rather than choice.

*May 8.*—It would be utterly vain to attempt any adequate description of this day's stage. During nearly the whole of it, we were surrounded by the most impressively sublime scenery, and passed over the most difficult roads that I have yet seen. The stage was short, probably less than twenty miles, but so rough that we were seven or eight hours in travelling over it. Our general course was a little to the South of West. Our road, on starting, lay directly through the town of Ravandooz, entering it by a bridge thrown across the tributary of the Ravandooz river, over the natural fosse already mentioned. We wound our way up the declivity, the road being formed of stone stairs, through the narrow, filthy streets, right by the governor's door, near which we met His Excellency attended by a retinue. He obligingly inquired whether he could not farther serve us. In addition to furnishing the letter addressed to the villagers on our route within his jurisdiction, he had, unsolicited, sent some of his own gate-keepers to guard our tents during the last night, and he seemed quite disposed to show us kindness in every way in his power.

We left the town by a gate at the upper or southern end, and continued our way still up the gradual ascent. We were more impressed with the natural strength of the position of Ravandooz, on rising above it, than we had been on entering it from below. The river and its tributary, as already stated, flank it on three sides, by precipitous, rocky banks that would throw into insignificance the grandeur of the Palisades on the Hudson. These banks rise rapidly, as one ascends, and the distance between those of each stream, as also between the streams themselves, increases. The tributary comes down the mountain-side which

we were ascending; but the river itself drives in the opposite direction, right through the solid limestone range, by a narrow gorge of unexampled sublimity, so far as my observation extends, unless the banks of the Niagara below the Falls be excepted.

We now had a fair view of the fearful precipice on which the governor's castle is perched, and from the roof of which, hanging over the rocky bank of the river, one hundred and fifty feet high, the bloody Muhammed Pasha threw his infant daughter. From the same dreadful height he was in the habit of throwing all such of his subjects as he deemed worthy of death, often on the most trivial pretexts, and not unfrequently to obtain their money. We were also pointed to a cliff, on one of the banks of the tributary stream, above the town, of equal height and abruptness, from which two Koordish girls voluntarily cast themselves down, rather than yield to the tyrant's mandate that they should become the wives of two of his private servants.

The Mosul merchants accompanied us a short distance out of the town, showing us in this, and other attentions, true oriental politeness. Though nominally Papists, converts from the Jacobite Church, they seemed to have little of the bigotry of Rome.

The brow of the ascent, above Ravandooz, is beautifully crowned with a long range of orchards, in which the mulberry, growing to a great size, seemed predominant. These orchards are interspersed with dwellings, and many houses appeared outside the walls of the town, in all directions. Ravandooz is increasing, and will doubtless continue to increase in population, and improve in other respects, under its present good government, and being, as it is, on a great natural route of commerce. Happiness and contentment seem now to prevail among all classes of its inhabitants, as much as they can ever be expected to prevail in an ignorant and immoral community. Jews, as well as Koords, are employed in responsible offices, particularly in the custom-houses. And the children of all classes appeared so much more playful and happy than in Persia, sporting merrily in the evening, till a late hour, that we were struck by the contrast as something remarkable.

Receding from the river as we left Ravandooz, we soon came to the brow of a deep valley, of three or four miles in



extent, into which we descended by a steep, zig-zag path. This valley is richly cultivated. Among other shrubs in the hedges, is what the Bishop called the pepper bush, in which he was probably correct. It was for some time a problem with us, where the springs of this valley find an egress, but a hidden one at length suddenly appeared, a narrow gorge being cut, as by some mighty convulsion, through the lofty mountain-ridge, here only a few rods broad, which separates this valley from the bed of the river.

In ascending from this valley, we came upon a rocky, though not very steep, declivity of the main mountain-range. The rough, broken stones, (which had a singular appearance, being irregularly perforated, though not lava,) were thrown so thickly in our path, and all around us, that it was very difficult to pass over them. Soon, great flocks appeared among the trees and shrubs in every direction, and at length came troops of nomad Koords, moving with their families and cattle from the warm regions below, where they had spent the winter, to spread themselves over the wild boundary-mountains. They were the Harkees, who usually pass the winter in the pashalik of Mosul, and the summer on the mountains above Tergawer, toward which they were now migrating.

Our road was so rough and narrow, up the ascent, and across the mountain-top, that we found it almost impossible to crowd along by the thronging troops of Koords, consisting of men, women and children, with loads of tents, and rude cooking-utensils, and cattle. But how was the difficulty increased as we proceeded! We soon found ourselves on the brink of a precipice skirting the river on the South-East, that is almost perpendicular, and here at least fifteen hundred feet high. The problem now was, not only to descend this fearful precipice, but also to pass hundreds of Koords, with loaded horses, families, and cattle, on their way up it. We at first could see no road, but on carefully looking down from the giddy height, we observed Koords threading their way on the side of the precipice, in various directions, along narrow parapets, little conceiving for some time that this was all one and the same road, and our road, running in a zig-zag course, successively in different directions, wherever ledges and breaks, wide enough for a foot-path, could be found or built up.

We went forward, crowding by the Koords where the path admitted of two animals passing each other, and waiting for them, or they for us, where it was too narrow for passing, till at length, looking up or down, we seemed to be hanging in the air, the river foaming in miniature still far below us, and the rocks, along which eagles darted majestically, reaching as to the sky, far over our heads. The danger was now imminent, from above as well as below. The loose stones placed along the parapets above us, might be easily jostled off by the thronging Koords, and come dashing down upon us. Only one stone, however, fell, and that one harmed none of us. We safely threaded our way back and forth, on the side of this awfully towering precipice, till we had descended within a few hundred feet of the river; when a tributary, the Khalifân, of considerable size, came rushing down from the South-West, through a very deep gorge, and with banks as solid, steep, and bold as those of the Ravandooz river itself. Leaving the river, our path now wound around upon a cliff on the South, forming one bank of the tributary; and the path slightly descending, while the stream descended rapidly in the opposite direction, we at length came upon its margin. The lofty mountainsides on either hand had now become somewhat less precipitous, and their lower sections were clothed with a heavy growth of oak trees and bushes, and the margins of the stream with rich grass. The Koords were encamping in large numbers on the river-banks, their flocks, herds and horses feeding upon the rank grass, and they themselves enjoying the cool shade. The wild stream now formed a succession of very grand cataracts, extending, at short intervals, about a mile, some of which were nearly fifty feet high. What could be more grand than their dashing foam, and wild roar, amid these mountains? And to heighten the interest of the scene, now and then a beautiful cascade came leaping over the cliffs and plunging into the river. We at length crossed from the eastern to the western bank of this stream, on a frail bridge supported by stone abutments and two stone pillars; and still following it a mile or two farther, we issued from the mountain-gorge, bounded here by bold, rocky pillars, as if to guard nature's wonders and mysteries within, and came to open meadows and fields, where we

gladly encamped. The village of Khalifān was half a mile up the river, the only village we saw to-day.

Low ridges lay beyond us on the South and West, covered with oak trees and shrubs; but we had now completed the passage of the great Koordish range, a range far more wild, rugged and magnificent than I had ever expected to find it on this route, and more strikingly displaying the wonders of the Creator's handy works than any of the wild mountains I had before crossed in the East.

Although the hundreds of Koords whom we met in our descent of the fearful precipice, greatly enhanced our danger and our fatigue, they at the same time afforded us much entertainment. They were about equally distributed in families of men, women and children, with their herds and flocks, the men being heavily armed, and the women, the older children, and the quadrupeds, except those very young, more heavily laden, and in all conceivable ways. Some of the women had cradles lashed to their backs, with young children in them, and often, if the child was old enough, it sat upright on the top of the cradle, with its feet astride of the mother's neck. Other women had large loads of cooking utensils, in sacks, bound upon their shoulders. Many of the children had young lambs and kids, too feeble for the ascent, in their arms; and they and the women, in addition to the burdens they bore, often led mares followed by their foals, the mares being also laden with large sacks of wheat, with rugs, and with tents. Cows in some cases had their young calves bound upon their backs, and in other cases, sacks filled with children, or with lambs, or both together, slung across them, on the top of their loads. None were not laden, whether man or beast, except the lordly husbands, and the extremely young. Our sympathy would have been excited for the poor females thus brutally tasked, sometimes even carrying the guns of their husbands, in addition to their other loads, had not these women, from long endurance of hardship, appeared as robust as the oxen and cows they drove. We saw few who seemed fatigued in ascending, with their burdens, the cliff of which the descent was so arduous to us. They moved cheerfully on, and very few of their children were crying, unless from fear of us.

Numerous and immense flocks of sheep and goats passed our tents, after we encamped, belonging to the Harkee

Koords whom we had met on the road. Our muleteers and companions tried repeatedly to purchase a lamb, but in vain. It is not deemed profitable to sell them when so young; and from the many scores in each flock the shepherds would, on no account, part with one, till a flock passed in which there was a lamb that had been lamed, and could not travel; that one the muleteer obtained.

We had encamped for the night at the south-western base of the high mountain along the frightful cliffs of which, engulfing the rivers, we had clambered. Three soldiers from Ravandooz stopped at the same place, who entertained us with narratives of the important events that had transpired near us. When Muhammed Pasha, or Koor Meer, was vanquished, for instance, the Turks drew their cannon up this steep mountain-promontory, by ropes, and then dragged them along on the top of the snow-capped ridge, being of course unable to transport them by the route we had travelled. On the little plain, too, where we were, according to the statement of these soldiers, armies have often encamped, in their expeditions against the refractory Koords. The Turkish army in Khoy, a day's journey from this place, is now in pursuit of the chief of the Navar Koords, who is the master of ninety villages, is very powerful, and is much feared in all these regions. He is now flying like a partridge from mountain to mountain, still often committing robberies, though closely pursued.

*May 9.*—Our course was nearly South-West to-day, and our stage about twenty miles. We first crossed a broken ridge, six or eight miles broad, which elsewhere might be called a low mountain, but is hardly entitled to that name, so near to the lofty ranges we had recently passed. Our road across this ridge was very stony and rough, though nowhere very steep. The ridge is covered with oak trees and shrubs, like the higher mountains, with many small fields of wheat, and some fine vineyards scattered here and there. Reaching its western brow, we came in sight of a great undulating plain, stretching full thirty miles, and probably forty, from North-West to South-East, and at least ten miles broad. Low, broken mountain-ridges appeared beyond it. Across the widest part of this plain was rolling a large river, now faintly seen in the distance; and on inquiry we were told that the noble stream before us was the Zab, the

Zabatus of ancient history, which Xenophon and the ten thousand crossed. The Zab breaks its way through a high mountain-barrier stretching along the northern side of this plain, and far still to the westward, which is like an iron escarpment, reared there to guard the sublimities of the loftier mountains behind it. Not very far back of this barrier are the principal Nestorian districts, as Jeloo, Bass, Tekhoma, and Tiaree. The gorge through which the river Zab bursts forth from the mountains, as seen by us at a distance, appeared fearfully rugged and sublime.

We passed down from the stony ridge which we had crossed this morning, by a rough descent, and our way was also impeded by throngs of migratory Koords, who were still crowding by us. They were a part of the great Harkee tribe, so many of whom passed us yesterday, with here and there a few Shekoiks from Oroomiah, who were driven in this direction, last year, by the scarcity occasioned by the locusts in that province, and who, like the others, were now retreating from the hot plains of Assyria to the cool ridges of the snow-capped Koordish mountains. We could not help being impressed with the wealth of some of the Koordish chiefs, in passing such thronging thousands of sheep, and hundreds of horses and cattle.

We left the district of Bálak in crossing the stony ridge. The great plain which we were now entering, is in the district of Hareer. The Koords who inhabit it are of the Soorikchee tribe. The plain contains many villages, and much of it is well cultivated. Great fields of wheat were waving in every direction, now fully eared, and the barley was assuming a golden hue for the harvest. We felt the sun to be very warm, as we were crossing this plain, and were thus reminded of the great descent which we had made from the elevated plains of Persia. We at length crossed a deep valley in the centre of the plain. Great limestone strata protruded themselves just above the surface, in this valley and elsewhere on the plain; and in one section, of a mile or two in extent, I observed striking specimens of diluvium, or drift.

In crossing this valley we had approached within a mile of the Zab, near the village of Kandeel, where one route to Mosul crosses the river; but we now bore away from the stream, which here runs toward the South-West, and pro-

ceeded directly across the plain, this being considered the nearest road.

We encamped near the low mountain-ridge which bounds the plain of Hareer on the South, about a mile from the village of Hârash. This ridge is covered with small oak shrubs, but very few appeared on the plain itself.

It was interesting to find ourselves now so near the river Zab, long famed in history, and which draws most of its waters from the wild mountains occupied by the Nestorians.

Of the simple, primitive manners which we observed among the Koords on our way, their style of mutual salutation arrested our attention. When two men meet, they grasp each other's right hand, which they simultaneously raise, and each kisses the hand of the other. And when a man and woman meet, if familiar acquaintances, the former bows his neck to the latter, who kisses it, which forcibly reminded us of the falling upon the neck, and kissing it, so often mentioned in the Scriptures.

Near the spot where we encamped, were many Koordish tents; and on a hill at a short distance, the chief of this district, Bayaz Agha, was sitting on his fleet horse, at the time of our arrival, with spear in hand, surrounded by a retinue. Our muleteer went to him, and showed him the letter of the governor of Ravandooz, directing that our tents be watched at night by the peasants, etc., and the chief, after some sly intimations from his servants, that we were "good game" for him, and some petulant words to the muleteer, finally ordered four of his men to act as our guard, but still showed far less deference for his superior, than the Koords in the wild mountains of Bâlak, more recently subdued. The people where we stopped yesterday had, moreover, warned us of the marauding propensities of the Koords of Hareer; and taking that premonition in connection with the suspicious appearance of Bayaz Agha, in his conference with our muleteer, and the fact that, instead of coming to welcome us, when we encamped, though near us, he and his savage-looking party pranced away behind the hills, brandishing their spears, we were led to apprehend that he might seriously entertain the idea of making us his game by night, and perhaps through the watchmen whom he had promised as our guard. We therefore struck our tents just at sunset, and moved onward across the ridge at the foot of which we

had encamped. We passed up the ridge by a zig-zag path, about two miles, and reached its summit; and descending a short distance on the opposite side, we came to the village of Babajeejik. It was now dark, and deeming it safe to lodge in this village, and wishing to start very early the next morning, to avoid the heat of mid-day, we did not pitch our tents, but spread our beds in the open air, on the roof of one of the houses.

The village of Babajeejik is romantically situated on the southern declivity of this mountain-ridge. It contains forty houses built of stone, is guarded by a castle, and has a mosk of considerable size. Just above the village there is a very sacred cemetery, called Monsofee Karasoollee, which is embowered by large trees. The village itself seems, indeed, to be quite a religious place. The *kethodeh* of it is himself a sheikh, and dervishes were praying and chanting in the mosk till a late hour in the evening, who concluded their devotions by repeating in exact concert, "There is no God but God," and then simply the name of God a hundred times.

May 10.—We slept soundly on the roof till 2 o'clock A. M. when our muleteer waked us, and we were soon mounted, and on the road. We advanced about fifteen miles before breakfast, the first half of the way toward the South-West, and the last half, nearly West, over a very broken region. In descending the low ridge from Babajeejik, we passed through a deep, rugged ravine, which terminated in abrupt, rocky pillars; and at that point we came to a valley running transversely, through which flows a considerable stream from the South-East, toward the Zab. This valley and its river are called Dara Beeroosh. There is a castle perched on a bold cliff a mile South of our road. This castle, which is called Deveeree, was one of the outposts of the rebel Muhammed Pasha of Ravandooz, in his resistance to the Turks.

Rising from this valley, we passed over a section of ledges, some of soft sandstone and limestone rocks, and others of sand and earth, among which were striking specimens of drift. We had descended a great distance this morning, but our ascent was now nearly as great; and when we finally reached the summit of the highest ridge, we had most magnificent views of the great plains of Assyria, stretching away in the distance beyond us. The lofty,

ragged mountains which we had been crossing for several days, had often filled us with inexpressible emotions of sublimity; but the vastness of the level plains now before us, bounded only by the sky, so far as our vision could extend, appeared no less sublime.

To the left of our route, on the South, lay the immense fertile plain of Arbil,\* or Arbeela, on which Alexander conquered Darius; and on our right lay the great and equally fertile plain of Noker, of which the chief town is Akra. The river Zab was rolling in the distance before us, and a low mountain, of small extent, far to the West, marked the position of Mosul, on the plain of ancient Nineveh. How venerable, as well as grand and sublime, is the scene on which we now gazed, an early cradle of the human race, and the arena of many momentous events of its history, both sacred and profane!

Descending from the height which so advantageously commands these impressive views, over ridges still more or less broken, the sandstone and limestone being so friable as to become of itself arable earth, a process obviously and rapidly going on, we at length halted for breakfast at the small village of Bawahallen, which is pleasantly situated above a deep glen filled with fruit trees, among which the fig and pomegranate and grape vines were conspicuous. The houses of this village, as also of two other small ones that we passed this morning, are of the most frail construction, the roofs of some of them being covered with straw, and the walls consisting, some of the stone so friable, and some of sticks woven together in wicker-work, plastered over with a thin coat of mud. There can be little winter here, or the people could not live in such frail tenements. There are three families of Jews in Bawahallen, and fifteen of Koords, who are still the prevailing inhabitants on our route.

Among the most common shrubs which we observed this morning, is one bearing pods, supposed by some to be "the husks which the swine did eat," with which the prodigal would fain have filled his belly. The bush grows from three to ten feet high, and the pods are like those of a large bean, three or four hanging in a cluster. From the leaf of this same shrub a species of coarse silk is made. The

\* This plain is called by the Koords and Nestorians, Holer, and by the Turks, Arbil.



people of Bawahallen told us that the worm which forms it does not die in the web, but escapes, and becomes a butterfly, being very different from the common silk-worm. The web is formed on the bushes, without any care on the part of the cultivator, till it is ready to be gathered. The fabric made of this material is much valued by the natives, and extensively worn by the women in this region, and in the Koordish mountains, usually in the form of black dresses. It is called *kazik*. The oaks were few on our stage to-day, and trees of any kind fewer and much smaller than in the higher regions.

After breakfast, we lingered several hours for our horses to bait and rest, under the grateful shade of a large juniper, and then mounted, and rode fifteen miles more, and halted for the night at the village of Reshwân. Our general course during this ride was South-West. The first half of our way lay over rough undulations; but these were less rough than the broken ridges which we had previously crossed, and the soil, where the rocks did not protrude above the surface, was very fertile, and extensively cultivated. Wheat and barley, as is the case in all these regions, are the staple crops on the ground. The soft limestone and sandstone strata often rose above the surface. In some cases, we observed the rocky strata to be very thin, often not more than a foot in thickness, lying upon a rich stratum of red earth of indefinite depth. In one case, the earth on all sides had been washed away from the rock, which lay like an immense table, but little inclined, and supported by its earthy pedestal to the height of several feet. The Koords, struck with the singular appearance, and thinking it something very mysterious, had covered the rock with heaps of small stones as votive offerings. On all sides of us, now, the scene was one of vast irregularity, the rocky ledges and undulations, stretching away scores of miles to the East and West, being so extensive as to weary with the general sameness. On this part of our stage, also, I observed sections of drift.

We were all the way gradually descending, and at length came in full view of the city of Arbēla, which loomed up distinctly, about twenty miles distant, on the bosom of the magnificent plain of the same name, that stretched away to the South and West as far as the eye could reach, with only the sky to bound the horizon.

While we were passing over these fertile undulations, two antelopes started up just before us, and skipped over the hills in all their native beauty, wildness and fleetness. They are said to be common, as well as wolves, bears, and wild hogs, in all these regions.

We at length left the undulations, and came down upon a great, level, alluvial plain, one of the most fertile that I have seen in the East. It was the northern extremity of the plain of Arbeca. Trees and shrubs had now disappeared, on all sides, with the rare exception of a shade-tree. Great fields of wheat and barley, of the richest growth, were waving in every direction; and grass, wherever the ground was not occupied with fields of grain, was rank enough for the mower's scythe. Soon, these fields will be ripe for the harvest, and the rich grass will wither under the scorching sun, there being but little rain here, after this season, and the land not being irrigated.

Reshwân, where we encamped for the night, is a Koordish village of about one hundred houses, with two houses of Jews who speak the Syriac. The walls of the houses are built of mud, and the roofs, which are doubly inclined, are covered with straw, fastened to the timbers by strong reeds, which are an abundant product of these plains. The straw is in some cases plastered over with a thin coating of mud. The name of this district is Bostora; it is within the jurisdiction of Ravandooz. A small river, also called Bostora, comes down from the South-East, dividing the province of Ravandooz, at this place, from that of Arbeca. At Reshwân we were within twelve or fifteen miles of the town of Arbeca, which is nearly South from that village. This town is partly built on a circular hill, that part being enclosed by a wall, and the rest is around the base of the hill. It now contains only about twenty-five hundred or three thousand families of Koords and Turks, with twenty families of Christians, half of them Jacobites, and the other half Papal Nestorians, a sad decrease from the amount of its population in ancient times. It is much resorted to for trade, by the nomad Koords, and the Arabs.

During a part of our ride to-day, the summits of the higher Nestorian mountains rose to our view, which had before been concealed by our nearer vicinity to the ranges that separate them, on the South, from the lower table-lands and

plains. Deacon Isaac who has a very quick eye and mind, as a traveller, was able to identify most of these towering mountains, and to tell us the districts to which they respectively belong.

As we looked around from our tents at our stopping-place, we could not help being awed with a deep feeling of vastness, by the great extent of our horizon; the almost interminable plains melting away in the clear azure sky, excepting on the North, where the loftiest ridges of Koordistan reared their snow-capped heads at a great distance, a sight most grateful to us, while we were panting from the extreme heat of the plains.

The Koordish chief of the district of Bostora is Sayed Hassan, who resides in the village of Reshwân. He had now gone to Ravandooz, but his son, who was encamped with the people of the village, on the bank of the river, half a mile above, sent us a watch of two men to guard our tents at night, and seemed much more obliging than the Koords where we halted yesterday. The people of this district live in tents for a few weeks, till about a month later than the present time, and then return to their houses, finding their tents insufficient to shield them against the intense heat of this climate.

*May 11.*—We rose early, and rode five or six miles over the fertile vale of Bostora, which we had entered yesterday, along a continuous succession of the richest fields of wheat and barley, and reached the bank of the river Zab. In one or two of the fields the people were already harvesting barley, and we remarked this peculiarity in their method of harvesting, that they do not bind the grain into sheaves, but deposit it in loose heaps on the ground, where it remains several weeks, after which it is threshed in the field. Our muleteers informed us that this is the method of harvesting practised among all the Koords.

For two days, we had occasionally caught glimpses of the river Zab, and were not many miles distant from it, where it bursts down upon the plain from the high mountain-range, and still nearer to it, at the ferry of Kandeel; but taking the lower route to Mosul, and the Zab bending to the westward, we did not reach its banks till this morning. Now, the venerable river rolled before us. It is still crossed by floats or rafts, buoyed up by inflated skins, just as it was in

ancient times. We crossed it at the Koordish village of Girdamamish. The river here, at this season, is at least half as broad as the Connecticut is in Massachusetts, and with its powerful current is probably more than half as full. In summer and autumn, however, it is sometimes so low as to be fordable at this place.

The float at this ferry is eight or nine feet square, consisting of sticks, two or three inches in diameter, bound to each other in the form of a quadrangular frame, with one or two sticks of similar size running crosswise, upon which small sticks placed closely together, are lashed by means of withes, bark, or wild vines. It was buoyed up by twenty-one inflated sheep or goat skins, arranged compactly under its entire bottom. The float thus rigged is very frail in appearance, and in fact; but is nevertheless capable of carrying across ten or twelve men at a time. It was borne rapidly down the stream more than half a mile, in crossing, and had then to be dragged up by the ferrymen, who waded in the river, one pushing behind and another pulling before, twice the distance of its descent down the stream, that, in recrossing, it might strike the point from which it started.

The ferrymen guide the float by a species of oar, consisting of sticks four or five feet long, with several split reeds bound on one end of the sticks, and thus forming a surface six or eight inches square. They do not, however, trust much to these rude oars for propelling the float, but let it sweep down the current, doing little more than keep it from running in the wrong direction. Truly venerable is this method of crossing, as well as the river itself! Our horses swam the river, being floated down the stream, like ourselves, more than half a mile. The effort was very great, and very reluctantly undertaken on their part, some of them returning repeatedly to the shore, and being as often forced back again into the stream.

The Koords here and in some other places, seeing me take notes, remarked, "This country originally belonged to the Franks, and it is theirs now, and he is writing it down." Our Nestorians, also, tell us that the impression is common among the Koords, that all their country once belonged to Europeans, who will ere long again become its possessors. The Koords here, however, were so little troubled by such apprehensions that they wished me to

immortalize them by recording their names, and I must at least comply with the request of the chief speaker among them, named Bâkhir, who was the proprietor of the float on which we crossed, and who, according to his statement, had himself been a great traveller, having seen Bagdad, Bushire, and Muscat.

We were detained several hours at the ferry, and by the time our effects and those of the caravan were over, the weather had become so intensely hot that we feared to ride in the sun, and pitching our tents on the north-western bank of the Zab, waited for the cool of evening. Not a tree was any longer to be seen, and the atmosphere felt truly like that of a desert.

In crossing the Zab, we passed from the Koordish province of Ravandooz into that of Amadiâh. The former is called by the natives Sooran, and the latter, Badeena. The same river here also separates between the pashaliks of Bagdad and Mosul, Ravandooz lying in the former, and Amadiâh in the latter.

It would be interesting to know just where Xenophon and his companions crossed the Zabatus, when pursued by Mithridates, with his horse, archers and slingers; but we have no record by which that point can be fixed with certainty. It was probably below us, as the Tigris is mentioned as near them on the left, a little before they reached the Zab. 'The river is stated by Xenophon to be four hundred feet wide.\* It must have been low at that time, judging from the width of the stream where we crossed it, which we thought to be seven hundred feet. No bridges now exist on the Zab, after it leaves the mountains; nor could they be supported, so powerful is the current when swollen, and so easily, on these alluvial plains, are its shores washed away.

Our thoughts naturally dwelt on sacred as well as classic themes, in this venerable region; and as we sat down under our tents, on the banks of the Zab, toward evening, we remembered the plaintive strain of the captive Jews sitting by the rivers of Babylon. Deacon Tamo read the one hundred and thirty-seventh Psalm, and artlessly remarked, "The Koords of this region now often say to the Jews and

\* See *Anabasis*, Book ii. Chapters 4, 5; and B. iii. Chap. 2.

Christians, 'sing us one of your songs, that we may see how they are,' and then they laugh at them." How vivid an illustration of that touching elegy!

Before quitting the Zab, I should state that the Koords call it Zay, the Nestorians, Zava, and the Arabs, Zab.

The Koords of this district are dressed like the Arabs, in thin, loose, white cotton garments, well adapted to the climate, and strongly contrasting with the thick, heavy cloaks, and corresponding under-garments, combining many gaudy colors, which are worn by the Koords in the higher regions.

Leaving the banks of the Zab at sun-set, we immediately rose from the vale through which it flows, upon an undulating sandstone plain, extremely fertile, the wheat and barley fields being very thrifty, and the grass on the intervening sections, of the rankest growth,—as we could discern on the way-side, in the shades of evening. We rode three and a half hours, but our party soon became so oppressed with drowsiness that our horses took their own pace, and went very slowly. We did not probably advance ten miles in that time. At last Mar Yohannan peremptorily ordered the muleteers to stop, which they did, though with reluctance. We were on a fine grassy plat, affording excellent feed for the horses. We did not pitch our tents, but spread our beds upon the ground, and were all soon fast asleep. The last sounds that I heard were the howlings of a wolf within a short distance.

*May 12.*—We rose at day-break, hastily put our effects in order, and went on our way, charmed with the verdant appearance of the grassy plain on which we had encamped in the dark. We soon came to almost boundless fields of very thrifty wheat and barley, a village appearing here and there. Proceeding over this great undulating plain, waving around us under the heaviest growth of vegetation, about twelve miles, nearly toward the West, we reached the river Hazer, which comes down from the Koordish mountains, then crosses the plain of Noker, and flowing on unites with the Zab several miles below the place where we crossed it. This river is here about one hundred and fifty feet broad, and was easily fordable.

We were still on classic ground. The river Hazer is the ancient Bumadus, near which Alexander and Darius fought

the great battle that decided the former to be the world's immortal conqueror. The precise site of that battle it is impossible to determine. It was probably a few miles to the left of our route, and some thirty-five miles North-West of Arbela. The historian Arrian tells us, that as Gaugamela in Assyria, the spot where the two armies engaged, was a small place, of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being nearest to the field of battle.\* And again, that before the battle, Darius had pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, at the river Bumadus, on a plain at a considerable distance from Arbela.†

Rising from the banks of the Hazer, our road being still skirted by rich wheat-fields as before, we rode on two miles, and then halted on a grassy hill-side, to bait our horses and take breakfast. Just before we stopped, we fell in with a company of Jacobite Christians, from the village of Bertilla, which is within twelve or fifteen miles of Mosul, and about four miles to the left of our road. These Jacobites speak the modern Syriac in a manner quite intelligible to us, and differing but little from the dialect of Oroomiah. In their party was an Arab from their village, who also spoke the Syriac, and I have since learned that the few Arab families in Bertilla all speak that language as well as their own, and stand somewhat in the relation of serfs to the Christians. From this point onward to Mosul, now perhaps thirty miles distant, Arabs are as common as Koords, and the latter repeatedly warned us against the plundering propensities of the former.

Two miles North of our stopping-place was a low mountain, on the north-western side of which are several Yezcedee villages; and a few miles South of us was the small mountain, already mentioned, which had for several days marked out to us the position of Mosul. The mountains of Jeloo, the highest in Koordistan, were distinctly visible on our road this morning.

We proceeded at 1 o'clock, P. M. first crossing a gentle swell of grassy hills, on which the Arabs from the desert are accustomed to pasture their flocks in summer. From the top of this swell we obtained our first distinct view of the plain of Mosul, or ancient Nineveh, in all its vastness.

\* Arrian. *Anab.* Book vi. Chap 11, 10.

† Id B. in Chap. 8, 11.

It stretched away to the North, West and South, farther than the eye could reach, being bounded only by the sky, and gave me a stronger impression of immensity than I ever received before, even on the ocean.

As we descended the swell, and entered upon the plain, the fields of grain grew larger and more thrifty, till they surpassed any that we had seen in the East. Our course was now South-West. We were strongly impressed, in crossing this plain, with the favorable situation of ancient Nineveh, for a great city, in the midst of a plain capable of sustaining millions of people.

Night overtook us while we were still ten miles distant from Mosul, and not yet in sight of the city, which lies low, on the western bank of the river Tigris, while the mounds near the opposite bank, supposed to be the ruins of Nineveh, rear a barrier of considerable height, which obstructs the view of the modern town from the East.

At length we rose upon a gentle swell, and finally came to broken ground which we readily recognized as the site of the celebrated ruins. How peculiar were our emotions as we wound our way over this site, in the sombreness of evening! As we entered upon the broken ground, we observed regular ridges, which we could not mistake as the remains of the old walls, succeeded by a parallel hollow, which obviously marked the place of the ancient fosse. Still proceeding, we at length came to a village among the ruins, called in Turkish, Yoonus Pegamber, and in Arabic, Nebbee Yoonus, meaning in both, the prophet Jonah. This village contains a large mosk, situated on a mound in an ancient cemetery, and supposed by the inhabitants to enshrine the ashes of the revered prophet.

We proceeded a mile, and came to the eastern bank of the Tigris, the waters of which we could dimly discern, and distinctly hear, and there we encamped on the ground, for the night.

*May 13.*—We slept refreshingly on the margin of the Tigris, till after day-break; and the morning-light then revealed to us the noble river, Mosul on its opposite bank, having the common appearance of a sombre Turkish town, with its great mosks, and towering minarets, and the ruins of ancient Nineveh, which we had passed over in the dark, near us on the East.



*May 16.*—Crossing the Tigris from Mosul, we visited the supposed ruins of Nineveh. The river is crossed by huge, rude, flat-bottomed boats, with very high prows running up to a sharp point.\* The boat, on leaving the shore, floats down more than half a mile, and is dragged up along the opposite shore by six or eight men in a file. Rafts or floats, buoyed up by inflated skins, like those used on the Zab, but larger, are also used on the Tigris, for travellers and merchandize going to Bagdad, three hundred miles down the river, and to other places. Colonel Williams, of the English Commission appointed to determine the boundary, went down to Bagdad a short time since, on a float of one hundred skins, in six days, stopping on the shore at night. The natives who use rafts, travel both night and day. Col. Williams had three or four small cabins erected on the floats, which he and his large party occupied. There is a bridge of boats for crossing the Tigris, at Mosul, which is used when the river is not high, but it was now hauled around parallel to the shore, and anchored there. The Tigris is by no means so rapid a stream as the Zab, though its name signifies arrow, indicating its swiftness; but it is much broader.

The ruins of Nineveh are just opposite Mosul, about three-fourths of a mile distant from the river, the intervening space being low alluvial, but little higher than the stream. This alluvial ground may probably have been formed since the period of Nineveh, so that the Tigris may have passed very near the ancient city, as it now washes the walls of Mosul.

The ruins consist of ridges, like old walls, enclosing an area perhaps four miles long and about two miles broad. The enclosed area is mostly a level, cultivated space. On the western border of this area, and about in the middle, longitudinally, is a regularly shaped mound, of quadrangular form, perhaps fifty feet high and as many rods square, and nearly level on the top. This mound has a bold, regular appearance on the outside, naturally suggesting the idea of a castle and enclosed palaces. From the top of the mound, excavations are now prosecuted for ancient remains, and with most interesting results. Only a few men work there at pres-

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\* See the numerous representations of similar boats, and of the ancient style of river-navigation in Mesopotamia, copied from Assyrian sculptures, in the works of Layard and Botta.

ent, who are employed by Mr. and Mrs. Rassam, Mr. Layard, the leader in this enterprize, being absent on a visit to England. We examined the excavations with astonishment and rare entertainment. Descending by an earthy staircase, formed by the excavators, twenty or thirty feet, and then passing horizontally under ground, we were suddenly ushered into ancient marble palaces, the walls all beautifully sculptured. We were filled with inexpressible wonder and delight, by what our eyes so unexpectedly beheld. Rod after rod, in the same great halls, we passed along by slabs of marble nicely fitted together, each slab about six feet high, eight feet long, and seven or eight inches thick, all exquisitely carved with spirited representations of various scenes, of scenes of the chase, and of battle scenes,—the warriors being armed with spears, bows and arrows, slings, and swords, and the victors often holding two heads in one hand, one by the beard and the other by the tuft on the skull, and brandishing a weapon in the other hand. There were castles besieged. There were trains of camels, horses and mules. In many cases, there were rivers flowing near the base of the castles, beneath the combatants, filled with sporting fish. There were also rural scenes, peasants on the road carrying sacks of provisions on their backs, etc. The palm-tree, richly clothed with foliage, was also a common object represented. Several slabs were inscribed with the cuneiform character. This character I observed oftener on the statues of huge bulls than elsewhere. The cuneiform inscriptions are much fewer here than at Nimrood. But these excavations are only recently commenced, though we passed some halls more than one hundred feet long, and of corresponding breadth. Some of the marble was blackened, as if these palaces had been burnt down; and there were pieces of coal, which would indicate the same. It is very difficult to remove the stones, in all these excavations. They easily break in pieces, probably from their having been exposed to the action of fire. At Nimrood, we found the stones much nearer the surface, yet perfectly sound, and not easily broken. The sculptures, however, on the walls here, while standing undisturbed, are very perfect, clear and striking. The groups succeed each other in very tasteful order, and no blank spaces remain on the vast marble ranges.

It is worthy of remark that these halls, or rooms, have no windows. They must have been lighted from the roof.

The female figures which we noticed, wore a high, conical cap or head-dress.

Two large bulls were, not long since, excavated at Khor-sabad, by the French consul, who sold them to Major Rawlinson. These statues were cut from blocks of marble at least fifteen feet square and two and a half feet thick. They were each sawn into four parts, for transportation down the Tigris to Bagdad, and thence to England.

Leaving the excavations on the mound of the castle of palaces, we followed down the eastern wall nearly half a mile, and came to another mound of similar size, but of a less regular form, around the base of which is a cemetery, and on its summit and brow, a village. On the northern side of this mound is the great mosk already mentioned as supposed to contain the tomb of the prophet Jonah. Yoonus Pegamber, or Nebbee Yoonus, in the Arabic, is the name applied both to the mosk and the village. We visited the tomb. It is a small, dark apartment of the mosk. A large arched box, ten feet long and five feet wide, and three or four feet high, is said to contain the ashes of the prophet. This box is overlaid with successive coverings of silk and broadcloth; and the four corner-posts, rising a little above the box, are tipped with large balls of gold. The walls of the room are superbly covered with mosaic, and its floor, like that of the whole mosk, is richly carpeted. This tomb is regarded as so sacred that few even of the Mussulmans are allowed to enter it. We obtained the favor through the kindness of Mr. Rassam. This mosk is supposed by some to be built on the foundations of a Christian church. Mr. Rassam thinks that the Muhammedans took the place from the Jews, and that the mosk occupies the site of an ancient synagogue.

We do not of course place much confidence in the prevalent belief here, that Jonah's bones are in the great box I have mentioned; but we do not doubt that Nineveh was here, and think that the prophet's final resting-place may also have been in this vicinity. The marble slabs which we had seen, all covered with such perfect and striking sculptures, the eloquent chroniclers of so ancient a period, were, to us at least, a much more satisfactory proof that we stood on the ruins of Nineveh.

Khorsabad, the site where M. Botta prosecuted his researches, is about sixteen miles North-East of Mosul. It is a single mound, of quite limited dimensions. Eighteen miles down the Tigris, on the eastern side of the river, and two miles distant from it, is Nimrood, the scene of Mr. Layard's labors. Mr. Rassam supposes that these three places may be the sites of as many different cities, yet all bearing the general name of Nineveh, just as London, in the progress of ages, has swallowed up several of its former suburbs. Nineveh having been "an exceeding great city, of three days' journey," it must have extended, in fact or in name, at least the distance of these three local cities from each other. The four cities of Nimrod, mentioned in the tenth chapter of Genesis, Mr. Rassam regards as thus relatively situated, namely: *Nineveh*, marked by the ruins opposite Mosul; *Resen*, marked by the ruins of Nimrood; *Calah*, at Shirgat, about sixty or seventy miles down the Tigris, below Mosul, where are ruins occupying three times the space covered by those of Nineveh, on the western side of the river, which has worn into the ancient city, parts of the walls of which now rise in their solitude like minarets; and *Rehoboth*, the Rahaba now on the Euphrates.

Mr. Rich found some very interesting relics on the mound of Yoonus Pegamber, opposite Mosul, with inscriptions. And if it were lawful to dig there, the place might probably be found rich in antiquities; but this mound is deemed too sacred to be excavated.

May 18.—We visited the ruins of Nimrood. Hiring five post-horses, we started early, intending to return to-day.

Nimrood, as already mentioned, is eighteen miles from Mosul, directly down the eastern bank of the Tigris. On the way, we passed but three villages, which are small and very indifferent in appearance. They are inhabited by Arabs, and we passed several large encampments of nomad Arabs on the road. The great plain below Mosul is but sparsely inhabited, and the population is said to be decreasing. The country is level, and was now extensively clothed with rich fields of wheat, at this season alive with the joyous harvesters, many of whom were the nomad Arabs. There are, however, a few limestone swells on the last half of the way, consisting, to no small extent, of most beautiful alabaster. A small stream which crossed our road, was

lined with as beautiful specimens as I have ever seen, the water having cut a channel two feet deep in the layers of the milk-white stone. The hills around us, also, glistened with fragments of the same, under the bright rays of the sun. There are sulphur-springs in the vicinity of these ledges of alabaster, which may have had some agency in their formation.

A mile this side of the village of Selameah, and about three miles from the ruins, Nimrood burst suddenly on our view. The most conspicuous object was a lofty, conical mound, at least seventy feet high, which overlooks the other shapeless masses, and is a very striking object at a distance. The Tigris runs at least two miles from the ruins; but the interval is low, alluvial soil, having every appearance of comparatively recent formation, and there is hardly a doubt that the river flowed close under the walls of the ancient city, as I have supposed in the case of Nineveh, opposite Mosul.

We ascended the ruins by a foot-path, a few rods South of the high cone I have mentioned, being attracted to that spot by the appearance of excavations; and what was our astonishment to be suddenly introduced to ancient halls, the walls lined with magnificent marble slabs, most skillfully carved, and as fresh, bright and perfect as if they had but yesterday felt the chisel of the artist.

We first came to marble walls closely inscribed with the cuneiform character; advancing a little, we next saw perfect forms of men, of gigantic stature; and then came to two bulls as large as elephants, having wings and human heads, guarding a spacious gateway. These inscriptions and statues are of most perfect workmanship, and the roundness and fresh appearance of the marble, and the clearness of the sculptures, are most astonishing. Advancing still, we came to various groups and scenes, such as royal audiences, the storming and defending of castles, colossal men with heads and wings of eagles, etc. Men holding pine-flowers in their hands was a common representation. Thus we wandered over acres that had been excavated. Almost every trial of the excavator seems to have yielded wonders and treasures far beyond all anticipation.

The mounds supposed to mark the site of the ancient castle, embracing the higher portions of the ruins, are nearly a mile broad. The high cone yields no remains, so far as it has yet been excavated.

The first discovered specimens of sculpture and inscriptions had been transported to England, or covered up again, to protect them from the action of the weather, the work of excavation at Nimrood being now suspended, in the absence of Mr. Layard; and still there were enough before our eyes to occupy us many days in gazing on them, with engrossing astonishment and admiration.

In the southern portion of the mounds excavated, the marble is injured, showing evidently the action of fire, and being thus made liable to crumble. There are also ashes and coals scattered among the slabs thus injured.

Feeling my incompetence to record my impressions, as I took up my pen, after my return at evening, and my eye falling at the moment on a scrap from an English traveller who had surveyed the same scenes, I inserted that scrap among my notes, and will quote it here as a more truthful picture than I can sketch. The traveller reached Nimrood at twilight. "I descended," he says, "to the disturbed palace in the evening, and passed through a labyrinth of halls, chambers and galleries, with bas-reliefs, painted flowers and inscriptions covering the walls. I saw these walls covered with gorgeous phantoms of the past, depicted still in the original pomp of their richly embroidered robes, still at their audiences, battles, sieges and lion-hunts, as when they were mighty hunters, warriors and statesmen, before the Lord. I saw the portly forms of kings and viziers, so life-like, and carved in such fine relief, that I could almost imagine them stepping from the walls, to question the rash intruder on their privacy. Mingled with them, also, were other monstrous shapes, the Assyrian deities of old, with human bodies, long drooping wings, and the heads and beaks of eagles; and I saw still faithfully guarding the portals of halls deserted and empty, for more than three thousand years, the colossal forms of winged lions and bulls, with gigantic human faces. All these figures, the idols of a religion long since dead and buried like themselves, seemed actually, in the twilight, to be raising their deserted heads from the sleep of centuries."

The mounds at Nimrood are not more imposing, in the exterior, than those opposite Mosul. They are much more extensive, at least those which seem to have been the castles of palaces; but they are lower, with the exception of the

high cone; and the outline of the city is far less distinct. But the marble blocks and slabs are much the largest at Nimrood, as also the statues and sculptures. Most of the sculptures at Mosul are small, much smaller than life; while at Nimrood, the men are giants, though in perfect proportion, and the bulls and lions are as large as elephants. The remains at Nimrood are much nearer the surface than those of the site opposite Mosul, some of them having scarcely three feet of earth over them. There are also much more numerous and extensive cuneiform inscriptions on the former than on the latter site. O could those vast marble pages speak, or rather could we read them, what volumes of mystery would they unfold! But in all their mysterious silence, they do still afford us most important records of the long, long past. I wanted the shoulders of a Hercules, as I stood over them, to take each massive tablet, and bear it away, to make it my companion and study. But, alas, they are all colossal; and a few small fragments, lying about on the mounds, were all that my great distance from home would allow me to transport on horseback.

The marble walls of the palaces at Nimrood have walls of brick, both burnt and unburnt, behind them. The unburnt bricks have cuneiform writing on their faces, probably impressed by the mould in which they were formed. These bricks are about fifteen inches square and two and a half inches thick. The marble floors are also laid on a brick pavement, the slabs being inscribed on their under as well as their upper surface, and the brick pavement beneath being laid in pitch or bitumen. The same kind of bitumen now issues from hot sulphur-springs in the vicinity of Nimrood, and there are vast quarries of marble and alabaster in all that region. The materials for these ancient cities must therefore have been easily commanded. But who were the men to accomplish the work? There must have been perfect artists, in those early times, and they must have had ample machinery. "There is nothing new under the sun." We have boasted of the modern invention of glass, but even this is found in the ruins of Nineveh.

About twelve miles South-East of Nimrood is the mouth of an ancient aqueduct cut through the rock, leading from the river Zab, which was probably used to convey water to the city that occupied the site of these ruins.

The reference in the Book of Ezekiel to "the images of the Chaldeans" naturally occurred to us, as we stood among the sculptured palaces of Nimrood, and especially because some of the scenes are painted. "For when she saw men portrayed upon the walls, the images of the Chaldeans, portrayed with vermilion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads, all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity, and as soon as she saw them with her eyes, she doted upon them, and sent messengers unto them, into Chaldea."\*

Before dismissing the subject of these antiquities, I may state that about fifty or fifty-five miles South-East of Mosul is the site of the ancient town of Ul Khadre, the ruins of which are on the surface of the ground. These ruins were recently visited by Col. Williams and Mr. Rassam.

To all who may feel an interest in becoming farther acquainted with the ruins of Nineveh, I would recommend the recently published work of Mr. Layard, on that subject. I have not myself seen the work; but from my knowledge of the man, and the nature and ampleness of his materials, I have no doubt that it will surpass in interest the highest anticipations.

\* Ezekiel, xxiii. 14, 15, 16—These words of Ezekiel have been happily employed by Layard as a motto for his *Nineveh and its Remains*. The prophet is describing, in symbolical language, the corrupt tendency of the house of Judah to idolatry, and their disposition to admire what was unnational and foreign and attributes it to the sight of Chaldeans, gorgeously arrayed, painted on the wall. Ezekiel has evidently drawn his illustration from sculptures similar to those at Khorsabad and Nimrûd, described by Botta and Layard. The general coincidence between these sculptures and the language of Ezekiel strikes every one at first sight, as noticed by Dr. Perkins when standing among the palaces of Nimrûd, and confirms the truthfulness of the sacred volume.

Still there is a discrepancy. The figures seen in the time of Ezekiel were Chaldeans, those described by Layard were Assyrians. The paintings alluded to by Ezekiel were human beings; those found by Layard are mostly composite animals, fictions of the imagination. Perhaps the ruins of Babylon, which we have reason to believe also contain paintings, may when opened exhibit something more exactly in accordance with the statement of Ezekiel. A few years will probably decide.

COMM. OF PUBL.



## NOTE

ON

## THE KÛRDISH LANGUAGE.

BY

PROF. BELA B. EDWARDS, D.D.

IN the third volume of the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Goettingen, 1840, there is an article of sixty-three pages, by Professors Roediger and Pott of Halle, entitled *Kûrdish Studies*. Some of the facts of more general interest contained in this article are here presented.

The principal sources of information, in regard to the Kûrds and their language, are the following:

1. *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, by the late Claudius James Rich, edited by his widow, in two volumes, London, 1836.
2. The communications of the missionary Hoernle in the *Baseler Missions-magazin*, for 1836 and 1837.
3. *Grammatica e Vocabolario della lingua Kurda, composti dal P. Maurizio Garzoni de' Predicatori Ex-Missionario Apostolico*, Rome, 1787. Mr. Rich, during his residence in Sulimania, and in his travels in various parts of the country, collected much valuable information. The missionary Hoernle resided a long time in the city Shûsha, and aiming especially at the conversion of the Kûrds, gave much attention to their language. The Grammar of Garzoni is the main source of our knowledge of the Kûrdish language. It is a small octavo of two hundred and eighty-eight pages, and contains a grammar, reading-lessons, a glossary, etc. The

author confines himself mainly to the dialect spoken in the territory of Amadia. He lived eighteen years among the Kûrds. What is found on this subject in Adelung's *Mithridates* is merely a recapitulation from Garzoni. The *Researches of Smith and Dwight*, in two volumes, Boston, 1838, contain some information in regard to the Kûrds. We may add that the volumes of the *Missionary Herald*, from 1885 to 1851, communicate a variety of important facts in respect to Kûrdistan.

The Kûrdish language prevails over the entire country from Armenia on the North to the region of Baghdad on the South, and from the Tigris on the West to Azerbaijan on the East. In the winter, the nomad Kûrds descend to the plains with their flocks. Single clans and families sometimes wander as far as the Persian Gulf, Damascus, Asia Minor, etc. The Zagros, the highest mountain-ridge in Kûrdistan, divides the country into two unequal parts. The western embraces a great part of ancient Assyria, between the Tigris and the Zagros; the eastern includes a part of ancient Media. The whole population is supposed to be between two and three millions. The Kûrds fall into two divisions, namely, the clans or tribes, *Assireta*, and the settled peasants, *Guran*. They are of very different races. The Guran, especially on the Persian side, are much the most numerous, being in the proportion of four or five to one of the Assireta. The latter are the invading victors; the Guran are in the position of serfs.

The Kûrdish language belongs, radically, to the Persian family. This is shown, incontrovertibly, by the grammatical germ; and by the main lexical contents. It has a still nearer relation to the modern Persian; but it has degenerated farther than that, by the corruption of its sounds, by the disappearance of inflections and derivation-suffixes, the substitution of periphrastic forms with auxiliaries for simple verbs, etc. The modern Persian, by its cultivation as a written language, has attained a firmer position, and a sort of security against a rapid decline; while the Kûrdish, as a popular idiom, wholly abandoned to the arbitrary caprice of general intercourse, has sunk down, without hindrance, to a lower stage of corruption. It seems to have stood somewhat nearer to the Parsi, though dialectically different, up to the time when the latter became a

written dialect, but then to have gone on its peculiar path, at a more rapid rate. Both these related dialects are about equally removed from the Zend, and they stand to each other rather in the relation of cousins german than in that of sisters. To mark the relation more precisely, the Kûrdish stands to the modern written Persian somewhat as the Milanese popular idiom stands to the more cultivated Tuscan written language. In one respect, the Kûrdish and the Persian have fared alike, namely, that since the irruption of Islam into their abodes, they have received a multitude of Arabic words, which exercise a wide control, especially in combination with native auxiliary verbs, e. g. *to make, to give, to be*. At a later period, there was a new, but much smaller addition, of Turkish words, particularly in the western and north-western parts of Kûrdistan. But neither the Turkish, nor the Arabic addition has exerted any essential influence on the internal grammatical form. The addition remains isolated; it is only borrowed, and it can be peeled off without difficulty from the genuine Kûrdish kernel. Some Greek words, used by the Kûrds, were introduced by the Arabs and Turks, as their form for the most part clearly shows; or they have had a firm hold in Central Asia from ancient times, and hence are not alien to the Persian. The Aramean words, forming a small part of the borrowed stock, were in the first instance received, for the most part, from the Syrian and Chaldee Christians, so that the talk of there being an original Chaldaic element in the Kûrdish, if thereby Aramean is meant, is wholly groundless.

The Kûrdish has a great multitude of dialects, more or less separate from each other. Different writers enumerate, some a greater number, some a less. Hoernle remarks that the northern dialects are mostly so related, mutually, that the Kûrds of different provinces could understand each other without much difficulty. Three principal dialects are in use among the northern tribes, beside that of the Yezidîs. These four have various branches, used by the Kûrds who live on the mountains West, South-West, and North-West of Orûmiah, and thence extending to Sinna, Sulimania, Diarbekr and Vân. In respect to the southern Kûrdish stock, Hoernle could not gain information equally satisfactory. He mentions five dialects as belonging to it. The

tribes which use them, dwell in the valleys of the Zagros, South of Sinna and Kermanshah, down to Loristan. It will be easily seen that our notices of these dialects are too fragmentary to enable us to give any good classification.

Most of the Kûrds, particularly the principal men, speak, in addition to their vernacular, either the Persian, or the Turkish, the first in the East and South-East, the last in the West, where individuals here and there understand Arabic. The Kûrds commonly use the Persian, or the Turkish, in their written communications. In the schools which they have here and there, a little Persian and Arabic is taught, but not the smallest portion of their vernacular tongue; by far the most of the Kûrds know not how to read or write any language. There is, consequently, no proper Kûrdish literature; the language has scarcely raised itself to a written form. It is very seldom that the Kûrds commit to writing letters, or songs, in their native language. That they have their popular songs, which they sing in their monotonous and melancholy strains, is well known. Rich often listened to their melodies and responsive songs. The most complete Kûrdish text which we have, was communicated by the missionary Hoernle. It is in two MSS., one quarto, the other octavo, and consists of Kûrdish poems in the Guran dialect, as spoken in the vicinity of Kermanshah. The quarto MS. contains, in about three thousand eight hundred and seventy rhymed double lines, the history of Khosru and Shirin, translated, as it would seem, from the Persian, and written at the close of 1825-6. The octavo MS. by a different hand, contains four poems, in four hundred and fifty, seven hundred, four hundred, and six hundred and twenty double lines, respectively.

In a second part of this article, Prof. Pott goes at some length into the nature of the sounds of the language. The general subject is pursued in the fourth, fifth and seventh volumes of the *Zeitschrift*, under the title, *Natural-Historical Notes, from the Kûrdish and other languages of Western Asia*. It is hoped that, by the labors of American and other missionaries, this interesting field will soon be thoroughly explored.



ARTICLE V.

CHARACTERISTICS

OF THE

PESHITO SYRIAC VERSION

OF THE

NEW TESTAMENT.

BY

PROF. JOSIAH W. GIBBS



# CHARACTERISTICS

## OF THE

# PESHITO SYRIAC VERSION

## OF THE

# NEW TESTAMENT.

THE Peshito Syriac version of the New Testament is a very important and interesting document in sacred literature:

1. On account of its great antiquity, being referred by many learned men to the second century;

2. On account of the language, which is almost identical with the vernacular language of Christ and his apostles;

3. On account of its faithfulness and intrinsic worth, being free and unconstrained without being loose or paraphrastic; and

4. Because the manuscripts of it are derived to us without essential variations from Maronites, Jacobites, and Nestorians, who thus become vouchers for its faithful preservation.

Hence it has been highly and justly esteemed by the learned, and may be consulted with advantage on some controverted points of theology.

The following are some of the characteristics of this version.

1. It exhibits a text not conformed to any one recension, as these recensions probably originated at a later period. See Fosdick's *Hug*, pp. 96, 208, 209.

2. Certain religious terms from the Hebrew or Aramæan, which, being consecrated in the affections of the pious, had been adopted in the original Greek, are naturally retained in the Peshito Syriac version; as, **ܐܒܗܐ** *abho* or *abha* for *abba*;

**ܐܡܝܢ** *amin* for *amen*; **ܡܪܢ ܐܬܗܐ** *moran-etho* for *maran-atha*;

**ܬܫܒܗܪܘܬ** *tseshharuth* for *sabaoth*; **ܘܫܢܐ** *ushano* for *hosanna*.



3. Hebrew or Aramean terms incorporated into the original Greek, are naturally retained in this version; as, **ܥܘܪܐ** *curo* for *cor*, (see Luke 16: 7.) **ܫܬܗ** *satho* for *seah*, (see Mat. 13: 33. Luke 13: 21.) **ܦܪܝܫܐ** *perisho* for *pharisee*, (see Luke 11: 37. etc.) **ܙܕܝܩܝܐ** *zadhukoyo* for *sadducee*, (see Mat. 16: 1. etc.) **ܟܪܘܒܐ** *kerubho* for *cherub*, (see Heb. 9: 5.) **ܫܘܬܘܢܐ** *sotono* for *salan*, (see Mat. 4: 10. etc.) **ܫܒܬܐ** *shabo* for *sabbath*, (see Mat. 12: 2. etc.) **ܓܝܠܝܢܐ** *gilhano* for *gehenna*, (see Mat. 5: 22. etc.) But *bath*, Luke 16: 6. it has not retained.

4. The explanations or interpretations of Shemitish terms given in the original Greek, are often omitted in the Peshito version, as being superfluous. See Mat. 27: 46. Mark 5: 41. 7: 11, 34. John 1: 39, 42. The exceptions, however, are numerous. See Mat. 1: 23. 27: 33. Mark 14: 36. 15: 22, 34. John 19: 17. 20: 16. Acts 1: 19. Rom. 8: 15. Gal. 4: 6. It may be remarked here, that the Shemitish terms quoted in the Greek often have a Chaldaic rather than a Syriac form.

5. This version often transfers Greek or Latin words of the original text, instead of translating them, the introduction of such terms being usual in the Syriac of that age. See Hug, p. 201. So **ܕܝܬܝܬܝܩܝܐ** *diyathiki* uniformly for the Greek *διαθηκη*, whether in the sense of a covenant or of a testament. Also **ܡܓܘܫܐ** *megusho* for *μάγος*, probably a Persian word, Mat. 2: 1, 7, 16.

6. This version sometimes errs by reading the Greek text wrong. See Hug, p. 201.

7. In some leading terms, the Peshito often substitutes a Syriac word easily recognized by the student of Hebrew; as, **ܐܠܘܗܐ** *Aloho*, (comp. Heb. *Elohim*), for 'God;' **ܡܠܬܝܬܐ** *malakho*, (comp. Heb. *malakh*), for 'angel;' **ܡܠܬܝܬܐ** *matkutho*, (comp. Heb. *mallkuth*), for 'kingdom;' **ܡܫܝܬܐ** *meshiho*, (comp. Heb. *mashiah*), for 'Christ;' **ܡܠܐ** *melo*, (comp. Heb. *milla*), for 'word;' **ܫܝܬܐ** *sheyul*, (comp. Heb. *sheol*), for

'hades;' *shilho*, ܫܠܗ (comp. Heb. *shedh*, Deut. 32: 17. Ps. 106: 37.) for 'demon.' It sometimes brings back proper names nearer to the Shemitish form, as ܝܫܢܝܝܐ *Yuhanon*, (comp. Heb. *Yohanan*, 1 Chr. 3: 15,) for 'Joannes.'

8. In some leading terms, the Peshito often substitutes a Syriac word which does not so easily accord with the Hebrew; as, ܕܐܝܘܐ *daiwo*, for 'demon;' ܡܕܚܝܡ *emadh* and its derivatives uniformly for the Greek βαπτίζω and its derivatives, whether in the sense of 'cleansing' or of 'overwhelming;' ܕܡܫܚܐ *idhto* for 'church;' ܩܫܝܫܐ *kashisho* for both 'presbyter' and 'bishop,' (comp. *kashisha* and *kasha*, 'a priest,' among the modern Nestorians;) ܕܡܫܚܐ *kenushto* for 'synagogue;' ܡܠܦܢܐ *malpono* for 'teacher,' (comp. *malpana*, 'a teacher,' among the modern Nestorians;) ܡܪܐ *moro* for 'Lord,' (comp. *Mar*, the title of a bishop among the modern Nestorians;) ܐܡܠܚܝܬܐ *okhel-kartso* for the Greek δαίμονος; ܫܠܝܠܐ *sheliho* for 'apostle.'

9. This version is distinguished for its simplicity. Thus Mat. 9: 1, 'And entering into the boat he passed over,' it renders thus: 'And he entered into the boat, and passed over,' as in our common English version. The same is done almost constantly.

10. This version in many passages makes the meaning clear and explicit by a short addition to the text, or by a slight change in the language or construction.

Mark 2: 26, 'When Abiathar was high priest.' So also in the Modern Syriac version of the gospels published by the American missionaries. In the common English version, 'in the days of Abiathar the high priest.'—Both very correctly as to the sense.

Luke 9: 34, 'And they feared, when they saw Moses and Elias entering into the cloud.' So also in the Modern Syriac version.—This rendering gives the force of the Greek pronoun ἐκείνους, in contradistinction to αὐτούς, which is entirely neglected in the common English version.

Luke 16: 8, 'And our Lord commended the unjust steward, because he had done wisely.' So also in the Modern

Syriac version.—This must be regarded as an oversight in the Syriac translator, for 'the lord' intended is evidently *the lord of the steward*, who was forced to commend what was injurious to himself, and not *our Lord*, that is, Christ.

Acts 1: 19, 'So that that field is called *in the language of the region Hekal-demo*.'—This is evidently a fair explanation of the phrase '*in their own proper tongue*.'

Acts 2: 14, 'But *after that* Simon Peter stood up with the eleven apostles, and lifted up his voice.'—The reason for adding this mark of time does not appear. Peter's speech refers to what had preceded. Of course it came after.

Acts 5: 4, '*Before it was sold*, was it not thine own? and after it was sold, was not *its price* in thine own power?'—A free but correct rendering.

Acts 10: 38, '*Concerning* Jesus of Nazareth, whom God anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power.'—This is evidently an attempt to simplify the intricate structure of the Greek.

Acts 12: 15, 'And they said unto her, *Thou art terrified*.'—This is intended for an explanation, but is less correct.

Rom. 12: 16, '*And whatever ye think concerning yourselves, that think also concerning your brethren*.'—A beautiful explanation.

Eph. 3: 1, 'For this cause I Paul *am* the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles.'—The construction is filled out, but not happily.

Heb. 4: 8, 'For if Jesus, *the son of Nun*, had given them rest, then he would not afterward have spoken of another day.'—The addition, 'the son of Nun,' helps the sense; but this addition is not made in the analogous passage, Acts 7: 45.

Heb. 10: 29, 'And hath counted *his* blood of the covenant *as of any common man*.' In the common English version, '*an unholy thing*.'—Both are fair explanations of the original term.

1 John 1: 1, 'We declare unto you him who *was* from the beginning, whom we have heard and seen with *our* eyes, we have seen and handled with our hands, *who is* the word of life.'—This is an important explanation, considering its great antiquity.

11. In the Peshito are some important omissions:

(1.) The phrase 'raise the dead,' Mat. 10: 8, is wanting in the *editio princeps* of the Peshito, 1555, and probably in

all the Syriac manuscripts. It has found its way, however, into the edition of Tremellius, 1569, and into subsequent editions, e. g. Gutbier, 1664. The Modern Syriac version of the gospels, published by the American missionaries at Oroomiah in 1845, has the words in a parenthesis, as in the Bible Society edition, 1816.—The words in the Greek text are justly suspected by critics.

(2.) The omission of 'Jeremiah,' Mat. 27: 9. So also in Mod. Syr. version.—A very important omission, which greatly relieves the difficulty of the passage. But it has not sufficient other vouchers.

(3.) 'That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture they cast lots,' Mat. 27: 35. These words are wanting in the *editio princeps*, and probably in all the Syriac manuscripts. They were placed in the margin, however, by Tremellius, and have crept into subsequent editions, e. g. Hutter, 1599; Gutbier, 1664; Schaaf, 1717. They are wanting in Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816. The Modern Syriac version has them.—These words are rejected from the Greek text by critics. They have without doubt been interpolated by copyists from John 19: 24. The reference is to Ps. 22: 18.

(4.) 'And he took the cup, and gave thanks, and said, Take this, and divide it among yourselves. For I say unto you, I will not drink of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come.' Luke 22: 17, 18. These words are wanting in the *editio princeps*, and probably in all the Syriac manuscripts. They have found their way, however, into the edition of Tremellius, and into subsequent editions, e. g. Gutbier, 1664; Schaaf, 1717. In Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816, they are inserted in a parenthesis. The Modern Syriac version has them without any intimation of doubt.—There is no sufficient reason to doubt the genuineness of these words in the Greek text.

(5.) The story of the adulteress, John 7: 53—8: 11. It is wanting in the *editio princeps*, and probably in all the manuscripts. It is found, however, in the London Polyglot, copied from a manuscript of the Philoxenian Syriac version, and in some subsequent editions, e. g. Gutbier, 1664; Schaaf, 1717. In the Bible Society edition, it is said not to belong to the Peshito. The Modern Syriac version inserts the passage as doubtful.—Critics are divided as to the genuineness of this passage in the Greek.

(6.) 'And Philip said, If thou believest with all thy heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God.' Acts 8: 37. These words are probably wanting in all the manuscripts; but they are found in some editions, as Hutter, 1599; Gutbier, 1664; Schaaf, 1717; also in lower margin of Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816.—They are rejected by critics from the Greek text.

(7.) 'But it pleased Silas to abide there still.' Acts 15: 84. The insertion of these words is ascribable to Tremellius. They are found in Gutbier, 1554; Schaaf, 1717; and in lower margin of Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816.—These words are doubtful.

(8.) 'Your blood be upon your own heads.' Acts 18: 6. These words are found in margin of Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816, as from the Greek.—There is no other voucher for the omission of these words from the Greek text.

(9.) 'And when he had said these words, the Jews departed, and had great reasonings among themselves.' Acts 28: 29. These words are found in Gutbier, 1664; also in the margin of Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816.—The evidence in favor of these words in the Greek text greatly preponderates.

(10.) The famous passage 1 Jo. 5: 7. This passage is wanting in the *editio princeps*, and probably in all the manuscripts. It is found in Gutbier, 1664; Schaaf, 1717. It is wanting in Bib. Soc. Ed. 1816.—This passage is rejected from the Greek text by all critics.

12. The Peshito version interchanges certain terms of the original Greek, as being synonymous in the view of the translator.

(1.) This version employs Syr. ܚܝܫܐ *kashisho*, i. e. elder, not only for Gr. πρεσβύτερος, i. e. elder, (see passim;) but also for Gr. ἐπίσκοπος, i. e. bishop, (see Phil. 1: 1. 1 Tim. 3: 2. Tit. 1: 7. also 1 Tim. 3: 1.) thus showing that Gr. πρεσβύτερος or elder and Gr. ἐπίσκοπος or bishop were regarded by the translator as synonymous terms.—Our common English version distinguishes the two Greek words in the translation.

(2.) This version employs Syr. ܫܝܬܐ *sheyul*, 'hades,' not only for Gr. ᾗδης, 'hades,' (see Acts 2: 27, 31. 1 Cor. 15: 55. Rev. 1: 18. et passim,) but sometimes also for Gr. θάνατος, 'death,' (see Acts 2: 24 bis,) and for Gr. φυλακή, 'prison,' (see 1 Pet. 3: 19.) also adds it to Gr. ἄβυσσος,

'deep,' (see Rom. 10: 7.) thus showing that these latter terms in these passages, in the view of the translator, denoted *hades*.—Our common English version distinguishes these terms from *hades* in the translation.

(3.) This version employs Syr. ܫܬܢܐ *sotono*, i. e. *satan*, not only for Gr. *σατανᾶς*, 'satan,' (see Mat. 4: 10. 12: 26 bis. Mark 1: 13. 3: 23 bis. 8: 33. Rev. 20: 2, 7. et passim,) but sometimes also for Gr. *διάβολος*, i. e. 'devil,' (see Mat. 13: 39.) and for Gr. *Βελιαλ* or *Βελιας*, (see 2 Cor. 6: 15.) thus showing that Gr. *σατανᾶς*, Gr. *διάβολος*, and Gr. *Βελιαλ* or *Βελιας*, were regarded as synonymous terms.—Our common English version keeps these Greek words distinct in the translation.

13. The Peshitô version interchanges the signification of certain Syriac terms, as if synonymous.

Thus it employs Syr. ܬܢܝܬܐ *kenushto*, which usually refers to a *synagogue* or Jewish assembly, (see passim,) once in reference to a *church* or Christian assembly, (see James 2: 2.) and also Syr. ܬܠܝܬܐ *idhto*, which usually refers to a church or Christian assembly, (see passim,) once in reference to a synagogue or Jewish assembly, (see Heb. 2: 12. not Acts 7: 38.) thus showing, as do also the original Greek terms, a tendency in these words to be used as synonyms.—Our common English version shows the same tendency in the use of the words *synagogue* and *church*, (see Acts 7: 38. Heb. 2: 12. not James 2: 2.)

14. The Peshito version sometimes accurately distinguishes words which are not synonymous in the original.

(1.) It employs Syr. ܩܝܬܐܢܐ *gihano* for Gr. *γένηνα* uniformly, (except James 3: 6.) and Syr. ܫܝܥܘܠ *sheyul* for Gr. *ἄγιος* uniformly, thus clearly distinguishing the two words.—Our common English version confounds them very improperly.

(2.) It employs Syr. ܫܝܕܗܐ *shidho*, (Mat. 7: 22.) and ܕܐܝܘܐ *daiwo* (Mat. 12: 24.) for Gr. *δαίμωνιον* and *δαίμων*, and thus distinguishes them from *διάβολος* or *σατανᾶς*, for which it never uses *shidho*.—Our common English version very improperly confounds these terms.

15. Certain leading terms, which, owing to the genius of the English language, require to be differently translated in different places in our common English version, are left

undistinguished in the Syriac Peshito, as in the original Greek. This is what we should expect.

(1.) The Peshito employs Syr. ܩܪܫܐ *kursyo*, denoting both 'a throne' and 'a common seat,' for Gr. *θρόνος*.—Our common English version vacillates between *throne* and *seat*, supposing Gr. *θρόνος* in some passages (Rev. 4: 4. 11: 16.) to denote a common seat.

(2.) It transfers Syr. ܕܝܬܐ *diyathiki* for Gr. *διαθήκη*, uniformly, and that, as we should expect, whether it signifies 'a covenant,' as passim, or 'a testament,' as Heb. 9: 16, 17.—Our common English version vacillates between *covenant* and *testament*; and that without discrimination.

(3.) It employs Syr. ܡܠܬܐ *malakho* for Gr. *ἄγγελος*, and that whether the Greek word denotes a common messenger, as Luke 9: 52. or a celestial messenger, i. e. an angel, as Mat. 1: 20.—Our common English version properly distinguishes these two senses, and that, (except 1 Cor. 11: 10. Rev. 1: 20 ff. where the meaning is contested,) to the satisfaction of all.

(4.) It employs Syr. ܫܠܝܗܐ *sheliho* for Gr. *ἀπόστολος*, uniformly, and that whether the Greek word denotes a common messenger, as John 13: 16. or a messenger of God or Christ, i. e. an apostle, as Mat. 10: 2. Luke 11: 49.—Our common English version properly distinguishes the two significations, and that to the satisfaction of all, except that a disposition is sometimes shown to exalt Epaphroditus to the character of an apostle, see Phil. 2: 25.

(5.) It employs Syr. ܥܡܕܬܐ *emadh* and its derivatives for Gr. *βαπτίζω* and its derivatives, and that uniformly, whether it denotes religious washings or not.—Our common English version vacillates between *transferring* and *translating* the word; and that not consistently.\*

16. The Peshito renders Gr. τὰ σάββατα, when used in a singular signification by a singular noun, as Mat. 12: 1, 10, 11, 12. elsewhere in the plural, as Acts 17: 2. Col. 2: 16.—Our translation vacillates between the singular and the plural without consistency.

\* See a very able monograph on this use of the Syriac word *emadh* by James Murdock, D.D. in *Bibl. Sacra*, vol. vii. pp. 733 ff.

ARTICLE VI.

SYLLABUS

OF THE

SIVA-GNÁNA-PÓTHAM,

ONE OF THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDÚS.

BY

REV. HENRY R. HOISINGTON,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN CEYLON.

(Read October 17, 1850.)





# SYLLABUS

## OF THE

### SIVA·GNĀNA·PÓTHAM.

IN Southern India there are three classes of books recognized as of chief authority in religious matters. They are the four Védas, the twenty-eight Āgamas, and the eighteen Purāṇas. Numerous other works are extant; but they are not esteemed as of so high and undoubted authority.

The Védas are unknown to the people generally, except by name; and also even to the learned, except so far as they may be understood through the Upanishads. And even these abridged and imperfect views of the Védas, excepting perhaps the Védānt, receive but little attention, and are of but little repute. The Vāishṇavas refer to them as somewhat authoritative.

All classes claim an interest in the Purāṇas, and refer, each to their own peculiar books, with some degree of reverence. The Vāishṇavas seem to hold them in higher esteem than the Sāivas. The great Purāṇas are in common use in the temples, as directories.

But the works of the highest practical authority, among the Sāivas, are the Āgamas, and the commentaries on them. The Āgamas were originally written in Sanskrit, and with one exception, if they exist at all, they are to be found in that language. It is stated by the learned, that only one of the twenty-eight has ever appeared in Tamiḷ; and of that one, only a part, the doctrinal portion of it, has been translated. Of the others, little or nothing is known at the present time.

The Ágama known to exist in Tamil, is the *Ravurava-Ágama*, and is contained in a work called *Siva-Gnána-Pótham*. It is written in the most concise and difficult style of ancient Tamil poetry. The translator has accompanied his translation of the Ágama with a commentary, which, like the original work, is very brief, and also very comprehensive.

This work, the Siva-Gnána-Pótham, is considered too sacred even to be touched by any common man, and in style and matter quite above the apprehension of any but the most enlightened. Hence, no one but a divine *Guru* is regarded as allowed, or able, to teach it. The whole is highly metaphysical and argumentative, possessing nothing of the simple, declarative style of our sacred Scriptures.

There are several commentaries or treatises on this Ágama, which are, perhaps, more frequently consulted than the Siva-Gnána-Pótham embracing the Ágama, and with scarcely less regard, as to their authority. I have a translation of one of these commentaries entire, and of parts of others.

The translator, or rather the author of the Siva-Gnána-Pótham, has prefixed to the work a system of logic, wherein he explains the principles on which his commentary is based. This is in itself worthy of attention, and ought to be collated with similar works of the ancient philosophers of the West. It is very brief, dwelling only on what the author considers valuable in logic. The author, however, enumerates other points than those which he explains; but seems to regard them as fanciful distinctions, and does little more than to name them. He lays down three principles or sources of knowledge, namely, Perception, Inference, and Revelation.

The Siva-Gnána-Pótham treats, in twelve sections, of three eternal existences, namely, *Pathi*, *Pasu*, and *Pásam*, or Deity, Soul, and Matter, with reference to their origin, natures, relations, and destiny.

*Pathi*, or Deity, is a being who exists entirely void of emotion, and holding his two operative energies, male and female, in a dormant state. These energies, in order to co-operate, or to produce any results, must be developed, and receive an organism adapted to the service required.

*Pasu*, or Soul, is a term designating a class of beings, or souls, shrouded in the darkness of *Pásam*, and helpless in

themselves. It is necessary that they be developed and embodied, in order that they may escape from the entanglements of *Pāsam*, and be brought into the light and liberty of *Siva*.

*Pāsam*, commonly rendered Matter, has a three-fold nature or existence, each part of which is called *Malam*. Hence "the three *Malams*,"—an expression of frequent occurrence. These *Malams* are distinguished by attributes appropriate to each, as: *Máyá-Malam*, sometimes simply *Máyá*, elementary or archetypal matter, the source of all material existences, which, in the soul's organism, causes the soul "to mistake the false for the true in all things, from the first element, earth, to the highest existences;" *Ānava-Malam*, that eternal obscuring power or existence, which, ever clinging to the soul's organism, "causes the soul to be satisfied with its mistaken good, with those things which the enlightened regard as false;" and *Karma-Malam*, sometimes simply *Kānam*, the evil or foulness of action, which is represented as "existing in the form of merit and demerit," and ever accompanies the soul through its almost endless course of transmigrations, and causes it "to eat the fruit of its own doings," till justice is satisfied.

*Kānam*, or action, has a three-fold distinction, commonly illustrated by the processes of sowing, gathering, and eating. Every act of the man, until the soul is illumined and liberated by divine wisdom, is to be regarded in this three-fold aspect. While eating the fruit of former doings, we are also sowing and gathering for the future.

I now proceed to give a syllabus of the *Siva-Gnána-Pótham*.

The First Section declares an eternal, self-existent Deity, the efficient cause of all things. This doctrine is considered as proved by six considerations, stated as follows by the author: "It is here argued, that *Siva* produces all things, because (1.) The world exists in the three states designated by *he*, *she*, *it*, and is subject to the three divine operations, [i. e. birth or development, preservation and destruction;] (2.) The world is produced from [*Máyá*-] *Malam* in the way in which it is resolved into *Malam*; (3.) Souls, in the same way as the worm becomes a wasp, and the caterpillar a beetle, appear in bodies which undergo successive changes

by births and deaths, being subject to Kanmam ;\* (4.) Máyei is mere inert matter, and cannot take forms spontaneously ; (5.) Souls, on account of their connection with [Aṇava-] Malam, have not the intelligence to take each its own proper body ; (6.) Yet souls do exist in their respective bodies, and perform actions in accordance with Kanmam." This result, it is asserted, no one but Deity could order and produce. Therefore there must be a Deity, the efficient cause of things.

The author variously expands, explains, and illustrates this topic. He comes, at length, to these conclusions : that Máyei is the material cause of the world ; that *Sakti*, or the Deity's female energy, is the instrumental cause ; and that the Deity is its efficient cause ; and farther, that "the world is resolved into Máyei in the order [reversed] in which it is developed and preserved," and that the Deity effects this through the medium, or by the co-operation, of his *Sakti*.

The Second Section shows how the Deity stands related to the world, and to souls in their transmigrations. This is briefly stated as follows : "God is the whole world, and yet he is other than the world. He is closely united with it, and fills every pore, and yet is not, in the least, entangled in it. While souls, by means of the divine *Sakti*, experience births and deaths, in accordance with their previous Kanmam, the Deity remains eternally pure ; he is one upon whom the nature of souls cannot come, [i. e. he is never the subject of joy, sorrow, etc., the consequences of Kanmam.]"

The author, in his explanation of this, shows that "the Deity exists in intimate union with souls, and yet is other than souls ; that the soul has no power of action except in this close union with Deity ; that the Deity, from eternity, stands in the same intimate union with the world, fills all space, and actuates all things, so that, in a sense, he may be called the world, and yet is different from it ; that he carries on all these operations without any emotion, such as desire, hatred, etc. ; and that it is under the direction of Deity, that souls are made to eat the fruit of their doings, or that they are made to appear, [in bodies,] and move on, in

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\* This language seems not sufficiently precise. The author may allude to the transformation of a grub into a beetle, or of a caterpillar into a butterfly.

accordance with the three Malams with which they have been, from eternity, entangled."

He then shows how the soul is made to hold connection with three different bodies, one adapted to this world, one to an existence in hell, and one to an abode in the world of the gods, the lower heaven.

The Third Section establishes the doctrine of the soul's eternal existence as an individual being. This is argued from the common assertions: "this and that are not the soul," "this is my body," etc.; and from the fact, that "the soul understands the five senses, [i. e. knows how to use them,] and its own way through the *Avatteis*;" and that it "understands when a thing is made known;" and that "when sleeping, there is neither eating nor acting, [i. e. on the part of the body, and yet the soul acts, as in dreams.]"

The author's *exposé* of this subject is ingenious and interesting. But I will not dwell on it.

The Fourth Section speaks of the soul in its connection with the *Antakāraṇas*, or mental faculties. These are four, namely, *Manam*, the power, or organism, of thinking, observing, etc.; *Putti*, the power of investigating, examining, etc.; *Sittam*, the faculty of reflection, inference, decision, etc.; and *Angkāram*, the organism in which the soul says, "I," "mine," "none like me," etc.

The *Sūtra*, or stanza from the *Āgama*, asserts that "the soul is not one of the *Antakāraṇas*, but is that which stands inseparably united with them. Originally, and of itself, it is destitute of understanding, because it is eternally connected with *Ānava-Malam*, just as copper is naturally obscured by rust." . . . . "When an earthly king," it is said, "having made an excursion, returns, and with his prime minister and other attendants, enters his palace, he, appointing suitable persons at all the outer gates, and stationing a guard at the entrance of the inner court, enters into his private apartments. So the soul [having made its excursions through the senses] in the body, enters into the five *Avatteis*, while *Prāṇa-Vāyu* stands as a guard, and thus it carries on its intellectual operations."

*Prāṇa-Vāyu* and *Avattei*, terms of frequent occurrence, denote those parts of the human organism which are essential to the soul's complete consciousness and action. The *Avattei* is a five-fold organism, located in the seats of the five ope-

rative deities dwelling in every human being. These terms, with many others, are explained in those works which treat of the anthropology of the Hindús, wherein man is regarded as a miniature universe. The two principal works, extant in Southern India and Ceylon, which embrace this subject, are those which treat of the *Tatwas*, or ninety-six Powers. They are the *Tatwa-Kattalei*, and the *Tatwa-Prakásam*. These, especially the former, ought to be published.

The author adds extensive illustrations of the subject of this section, in the way of elucidating the conscious and active state of the soul in its proper organisms, and in its union with the indwelling deities of the human microcosm. He shows that, as the soul must occupy the senses in order to perception, so it must occupy the *Antakáranas* in order to put forth intellectual exercises.

The Fifth Section speaks of the soul as illuminated by the indwelling Deity. The author says, "The manner in which souls, without any knowledge of the Deity, come, by the grace [*Arul-Sakti*] of the Deity, to their proper understanding of things, is like that of the senses in their respective functions, which perceive the objects presented by means of the soul, and yet have no knowledge of the soul. This [i. e. the way of the soul's receiving understanding by means of *Arul-Sakti*,] is as iron before the magnet." . . . "When the magnet attracts iron, there is in the magnet neither change nor absolute want of change; so, when the Deity actuates souls, he has neither change nor want of change, [i. e. is absolutely void of emotion.]"

The author, who presents several curious particulars under this section, closes with the idea, that "when his grace [*Arul-Sakti*] shines, then Siva shows himself to souls, just as the sun reveals himself by his own light."

The Sixth Section draws the line of demarcation between the Deity and the world, thus: "All visible forms, or things known, are untrue; and that which is unknown has no existence. Therefore, that which is not included in these two, [the known and the unknown,] is SIVA, who is TRUTH. The continuous, or fixed world declares this."

The author explains: "How is it that all which can be known by the understanding is a lie? It is so, on the ground that it is developed, exists [awhile,] and is then resolved or destroyed. How is it, that what is not known

is said to have no existence? It is as [if one should speak of] a rope of tortoise-hair, the flower of the air, or a hare's horn."

I will give one paragraph from the author's very ingenious exposition of this subject. He says, "What is the import of the assertion, that the Deity is neither the truth, which may be known by the soul, nor the untruth? If you mean [by this question] to ask, whether that Being is, or is not, he who has seen the truth, will on reflection say, 'He exists.' But if you mean to ask, whether he can be known by the understanding of the soul, [I answer,] He being thus apprehended, would become a lie, being [appearing] different from himself, [i. e. he would be misapprehended.] Therefore, as Siva is beyond the reach of speech and understanding, the Truth [Deity] is that truth which, [or such a truth as,] cannot be known by the understanding, but is to be understood by the aid of Arul-Sakti. If it be asked, what that Arul is, it is the beautiful foot of Siva, [i. e. it is the grace given by his Sakti to those who worship the foot of Siva.]" Hence the author concludes that "the soul has its power of understanding Deity through Arul-Sakti, and that Siva, standing as life to souls, through his Sakti, causes them to understand without his being dissociated from them, just as the soul stands as life to the eye in perception;"\* and again, "As there is one who sees, and one who shows [things in common life,] so there is a soul which knows, and a Deity which makes known."

The Seventh Section points out farther distinctions between the Deity and other existences, and particularly defines the human soul. "In the presence of *Sattu*, [or Truth, i. e. Deity,] all things are as nothing. Because the world perishes, and passes away as a lie, therefore Truth [*Sattu*] knows or regards it not. Because *Asattu*, [or Untruth, i. e. the world,] is material and ephemeral, it knows nothing. That which has a knowledge of both *Sattu*, which is eternal, and *Asattu*, which is temporal, is the soul, which is neither of the two."

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\* The sense of this clause is, that the soul is made to understand sacred things, especially the Deity, by the aid of his Arul-Sakti, without the Deity's manifesting himself as a being distinct from the soul. The soul is endued with this spiritual perception, while unconscious of the agency of the indwelling Deity, just as the eye is unconscious of the agency of the soul in perception.



The author explains: "Hence the soul is *Sattāsattu*, [both Truth and Untruth]. The manner in which the Deity manages the world is [in a sense] like juggling, which is not for the exhibitor, but for the spectators. Because the Deity has no profit in the world, therefore it is said that he knows it not."

The author, among other things in this section, adds, "That which understands *Sattu*, which is spiritual, and *Asattu*, which is material, is the soul. The fact is, the soul is neither the *Sattu*, which is spiritual, nor the *Asattu*, which is material; nor is it the union of the spiritual and the material. It cannot exist invisible, like the spiritual, nor visible, like the material. But it exists united with both. If it be asked, how the soul is manifest, it is manifest by its union with the Deity and the body; just as fragrance is manifest in the flower. The soul stands as *Sattu* by its union with the former; and as *Asattu*, by its union with the latter. Therefore the soul is styled *Sattāsattu*."

The author illustrates this union thus: "As long as the sea has existed, its water has existed; and as long as the water has existed, its salt has existed. Just so, as long as the Deity has existed, so long has the soul existed; and as long as the soul has existed, so long has *Pāsam* existed. Here the sea represents the Deity; the water, the soul; and the salt, *Pāsam*. Therefore Deity has no connection with matter, except through its connection with the soul."

The Eighth Section shows, more specifically, how the soul attains its spiritual understanding. The transcendental power of the soul is defined, in the logical part of this work, as follows: "It is that understanding, called *Yōga-Kādshi*, which one possesses who has checked the influence of the senses, by means of the prescribed ascetic observances, and who understands instantaneously the nature and circumstances of the time and place in which he exists, and also all the things of this wide world. This *Yōga-Kādshi* is the property of those who perform the eight *Sittis*, [modes of ascetic observance,] and who have examined into the proper nature of *Vintu* and *Nātham*, [the male and female energies of Deity.]" Thus far the logic.

The *Sūtra* states, "When the Deity, who becomes life to the soul, and standing within enables it to operate, manifests himself as a Guru, saying to the soul, 'Thou forgettest thy

real nature, having been nourished and trained up with the hunters, the five senses,' and when he, having caused the soul, in previous births, to pass on through penance, [i. e. through the first three stages, namely the *Purāṇa*, the *Līṅga*, and the *Yōga*,] now brings it into *Gnānam*, and in this good state instructs it, then the soul, having left the state of darkness in which it before existed, will, as a *Gnāni*, [wise man] pass from *Tirótham*, [its previous state of darkness,] to the divine Arul, from which it will never be dissociated."

This is the final stage of the soul's embodied existence. The soul is now in the light; and when the man drops this his last body, he becomes a *Sivam*, a being very like Siva himself, and will be closely united with him forever. The author says, "The soul, which has stood like waters confined within their embankments, now coming to understand, in a proper way, the senses which have bound it, and escaping from their control, will not be born again; but, like the river that has left its bed and passed into the ocean, will be fixed at the sacred foot of Siva, [i. e. in a state of grace and glory.]"

The author has much to say, under this head, on matters connected with this method of final salvation, the soul's deliverance from the darkness and entanglements of *Pāsam*.

The Ninth Section gives a farther view of the enlightened soul, and of the method of its ultimate triumph, particularly of the use of the five-charactered Mantra, called *Pantshátsharam*. "Since neither *Pasu-Gnānam* nor *Pāsa-Gnānam*, [i. e. neither the soul's proper understanding, nor its understanding possessed through its organisms,] can apprehend the Deity, therefore do thou by the eye of wisdom examine the way in which he stands in thee; for, to stand and see the Deity by the help of the divine Arul, is the desired position. When one, thus searching for Deity, leaves *Pāsam*, [i. e. renounces the world,] saying, 'It is like the devil-car, [mirage,] which moves so swiftly that one cannot ascend it,' and when he pronounces, according to the prescribed rules, the celebrated *Pantshátsharam*, then the Deity will be a cool shade to him who has wandered in the heat of the sun, [i. e. who has been oppressed with the cares, vexations, etc. of the world.]"

This intricate and important subject is largely explained by the author, and by other commentators on this *Āgama*.

The ninth section includes directions for the last and highest stage of religious service, or internal, spiritual *Pūjā*. In this service, the soul will eventually discover Siva "in the form of Gnānam, [wisdom,] standing firmly in his *Vintu-Sakti*." "Do thou," says the author, "meditate on him as so situated, and [thus] become united with him." . . . . "When the Deity thus stands manifest to the soul, the soul will be [to the Deity] like iron in the fire. When iron is subjected to the influence of fire, its own ordinary appearance gives place to that of fire; so it is in the case of the soul with the Deity, in its *Siva-Rūpam*, [or form of Siva.]" . . . . "If thou pronouncest the *Pantshátsharam*, thou wilt come into this union with Siva. Therefore, unceasingly pronounce the five characters."

A knowledge of the Tatwas is essential to a full understanding of this subject. The *Pantshátsharam*, however, is not fully explained in either of the works on the Tatwas above mentioned. Its characters pronounced are *na-ma-si-vá-ya*. They have a very extensive connection with the mystic philosophy of the Hindús; in their compass and influence they embrace the universe. To employ them intelligently, and according to rule, is a most acceptable service to Siva. The initiated employ these characters in two words, to express their act of worship or praise to Siva, thus: *Siváya nama*, praise, or worship, be to Siva. Some years since, I prepared a paper on the *Pantshátsharam* for this Society, but found no opportunity of presenting it. On my return to India in 1844, the article was published by request, in two parts, in the *Madras Christian Instructor* for November and December of that year. I present the subject in a new form in a note to this paper.

It is stated, in the section before us, that the soul is never freed from the control of its Malams, without the vision of Siva here described; and that this vision can be obtained only as here directed.

The Tenth Section treats of the removal of the three Malams through the agency of Aruḥ-Sakti, and also of the condition and actings of the soul when thus liberated from its sore thralldom. The author says, "The divine Aruḥ is the foundation on which the soul becomes one with Siva, walks in his ways, and ceases to say, 'I have done it,' 'Others have done it to me,' etc.

The meaning is, that the soul, by the aid of Arul-Sakti, comes to understand its close union with Siva, which is like the union of soul and body; and that it is by means of Siva that its proper understanding has been illuminated; and that it is by his aid, also, that all those actions which the soul had called its own, have been performed. Hence the soul now "sees that all those actions which appeared its own, were really Siva's." The soul, in this state, is declared to be "free from the three Malams, *Āṇavam*, *Māyēi* and the irresistible *Kanmam*."

Though the soul be thus freed from its original entanglements, yet it still bears some taint of *Malam*, which needs to be wiped off. This is done by Arul-Sakti, otherwise called the grace of Siva. The taint is attached to the soul's organism, which is compared to a dish in which *asafoetida* has been kept. The removing of the accumulated *Kanma-Malam* is compared to the removal of the *asafoetida* from the dish. The offensive smell which unavoidably remains in the dish, represents the remains of *Kanmam* in the body. "Though," says the author, "the soul's former actions do thus adhere to the *Gnāni*, yet his present *Kanmam* will not adhere to his body, so as to require to be eaten, as before. For the *Gnāni*, because he is now in the likeness of Siva, comprehends whatever he knows, as one possessing the attributes of Siva. This results from his being so united with Siva as to be one with him." . . . . . "Such persons, [still in the body,] take notice of the objects of sense; yet they are not infatuated by those objects, nor are they disturbed in their spiritual heroism. . . . . They are like the divine *Rishis*, who, while sitting in fire, have the power of resisting its influence, so as not to be burned by it." . . . . . "As darkness cannot stand before the sun, so *Kanma-Malam* can no longer rise upon [withstand] the *Gnāni*; and as the lamp shines not in the presence of the sun, so *Māyā-Malam* [body] can no longer have life [power] with him."

The Eleventh Section shows how the soul comes to see Siva, and to enter into a cordial and perpetual union with him.

In the previous section, we have seen the soul freed from its entanglements, and made to understand itself, and its relation to Siva of entire dependance. But as yet the man

has not seen his Lord. This is the next step. Our author says, "When the soul has escaped from the influence of the body, and become pure, Siva will look upon it, and show himself to it, [i. e. will enable the soul to see him,] just as the soul acts as the cause or power of vision to the eye. Therefore Siva, by thus revealing himself, will give his sacred foot to the soul, [which it will embrace] with a love which it never forgets to exercise."

Here the manifested Deity is represented as an attractive object, drawing out the heart, or affections of the soul, and binding to himself forever by cords of love.

The author says, among other things, "Though the sun rise and stand before the blind, yet it will be to them like the darkness of night; they cannot see. So Siva cannot be seen by those who are entangled in *Pásam*, though he fills every place. But to those who are worthy, and who love him, he will give the eye of *Gnánam*, and will remove from them the snares of *Pásam*, just as the sun opens the lotus-flower, when it is in the state to be thus affected."

He argues the eternal identity and individuality of the soul, as follows; "If the soul perishes as an [individual] soul, in uniting with the Deity, then there is no eternal being to unite with the Deity. But if, on the contrary, it does not lose its individuality, which it had when in union with the *Malams*, then it must be something different from the Deity, and cannot come into final and absolute union, or oneness, with Deity. When the *Malams* perish, [i. e. when they cease to control the soul,] then the soul, with spiritual habiliments, will unite with the Deity as his servant, just as salt unites with water, and forever exist at his feet as one with him."

The Twelfth and last Section points out and enjoins the modes in which Siva may be acceptably worshipped. . . . "Remove ye the three *Malams* which prevent your union with the strong foot that is like the red lotus, and unite ye with those who have obtained liberation, while living, by removing their three *Malams*; and regarding both the sacred bodies of those who abound in love to Siva, and are free from worldly delusion, and also his temples, as Siva himself, worship ye."

The author directs attention to the following particulars, as embraced in this statement :

1. "While the three Malams remain, Gnánam cannot be obtained. Therefore the Malams must be removed.

2. "The soul will partake of the character of that with which it is associated, just as any thing dipped in saffron will take its color. Hence the disciple must avoid the contact of those who are entangled in Pásam, and associate with the pious. Upon those who thus walk, the Malams will not accumulate.

3. "Because Siva shines in those who possess the sacred form, [i. e. who properly adorn their persons with the marks and emblems of Siva,] therefore such persons should be worshipped as Siva.

4. "Worship may be performed in temples, because Siva-Linga, [the visible object of worship for the enlightened,] is composed of Mantras, and is therefore to be regarded as the body of Siva, the form in which he manifests himself to the Gnáni.

5. "Siva, who is neither soul nor body, is so closely united with both as to impart to them all their power of action, etc.; in the same way he exists in Siva-Linga, as one with it. Therefore love and worship him in that form, —perform *Linga-Pújá*.

6. "The Kanmams will not leave one, except he worship Siva. Therefore be thou possessed of love and worship, regarding the devotees of Siva, and Siva-Lingas, in the same light, [i. e. as equally the forms of Siva.]

7. "Hence the disciple must worship, regarding Siva, his Guru, and the Sástras, as one." That is, in the different stages of this divine course, Siva, under the different forms referred to, is to be regarded as the object of worship; else there will be no advancement towards the light, no liberation.

The author closes the whole work with the following remark: "From the *Gnána-Núl*, or sacred Scripture, which *Nandi* [Siva's chief attendant] graciously formed for our lord Sanatkumáran, [the author of the *Ágama*,] because he praised and worshipped him, from that *Núl*, *Meykandán* [our author] has translated twelve of the Sanskrit *Ślókas* or *Sútras* into Tamil, having first embraced them in his mind. In order that the inhabitants of the earth may understand these doctrines, they are here presented in the logical form of Proposition, Data and Proof."

Many points of interest are brought out in this work, which have not been alluded to in the foregoing syllabus. Among the more important of these, to my mind, are explanations of mystic observances in the popular worship, and the reasons why so great and general attention is given to some of the popular deities. Of the latter, we have an example in the case of *Pilliar*, or *Ganésa*, the god with an elephant's head, and of monstrous dimensions. This deity is, perhaps, more extensively worshipped than any other of the idol-forms which fill the land. The reason of this is obscurely presented in the work before us. It is found in the symbolic meaning of his proboscis, which is the same as that of Siva-Linga, which presents to view the two natures or energies of Deity in co-operation. He is, therefore, the god of action, the active or immediate author of all results. He is, in a sense, an agent in all the five divine operations, which are usually ascribed to five different gods. In the order of nature, he may be placed before any effect or existence. Hence we may perceive the meaning of the popular paradox, "He is the son who was born before his father."

A knowledge of the argumentative and doctrinal works of the Hindús, in the forms in which they are familiar to them, is of great practical importance to the missionary in India; and all in any way engaged in the missionary work, have an interest in the subject. It is on the ground of what is contained in these works that the learned Hindú takes his stand, and meets the charges often urged upon him, with the declaration, "I am not an *idolater*; I worship the one great God." It is not necessary that the missionary preacher, or teacher, should be always dwelling on these matters. But he should, if possible, be always able to adapt his instructions to the state of mind of those to whom he speaks. Not unfrequently, when the young missionary is preaching, and making, as he supposes, his triumphant assaults on the system of the people, is the native scholar seen to throw out his significant glances, indicating, what he will sometimes express in words, "The young man is ignorant, he knows nothing about us." At other times, scholars are seen chuckling and laughing amongst themselves, obviously strengthened in their position by the evidence which the missionary himself gives, that he understands not their

wisdom, their divine Gnánam. A correct knowledge of the living, practical system of Hindúism is, in my opinion, more important to the missionary on his first entering that field, than even a knowledge of the language of the people. A commencement in both would be an invaluable qualification to any young missionary.

This last remark leads me to another. The statement often made, that "the learning of the Hindús is locked up in the Sanskrit language," is true only of Northern India, or rather of those parts of India the languages of which are directly derived from the Sanskrit. The Tamil and its branches, including the Telegú, the Canarese, etc., are originally independent of the Sanskrit, and are the languages of about fifty or sixty millions of people. In the Tamil, and to some extent in the Telegú, is to be found whatever is valuable in Hindú learning, certainly so far as there have been developments made from the Sanskrit. And it is manifest, that any work in Tamil, though it be in the high dialect, is of more worth to the missionary in Southern India, than the same work in Sanskrit. It being in the living language of the people, not only may its full meaning be the better comprehended, but the terms required, and which are so important in such studies, are there ready for use, shaped to the structure of the language.

Again, the bearing of such works as the one brought to view in this paper, on ethnological researches, to say nothing of the transcendental speculations of German philosophers, will probably suggest itself to other minds. I leave this suggestion to be carried out by others whose more fully developed organisms enable them to soar into regions which I have not attempted.



## NOTE

## ON THE

## PANTSHÁTSHARA-YÓGAM,

## THE

## FORMULA OF FIVE CHARACTERS.

THE following is a brief view of the mystic formula mentioned in the preceding paper. I have drawn the materials of it chiefly from a Hindú author, who is claimed by both the Sáiva and Váishuava schools.

This Mantra, or formula of prayer, is one of the highest meaning and power in the Hindú system. It is regarded as an incarnation of Deity, and as including in itself all the powers of the universe. It is employed by both gods and men, in their respective works.

By its instrumentality, the operative deities develop and control the universe of beings, and again resolve the whole into its primeval state. By it, all the laws of nature, physical, intellectual, and even moral, are made to operate.

It is by this marvellous power, also, that the hierophant is enabled to control, in certain ways, all existences; and is thus empowered to bring into the previously formed image "the real presence" of the five great gods, with their Saktis and accompaniments, and to make it their permanent abode; all which is essential to constitute it an idol, or a proper object of worship.

The characters of this Mantra have also an extensive emblematic meaning, thus embracing the universe in classes of fives. Among these classes we have the five operative deities; their five Saktis; the five divine operations; the

five divine weapons; the five colors; the five elements; and their developed classes of fives; etc.

Such are the things brought into view by "continually repeating the five characters." The repetition is not, therefore, to the Hindú an unmeaning ceremony. Each rehearsal is to be made understandingly, and is thus a step in the prescribed course that leads regularly through the dominions of the five indwelling deities of the human Microcosm.

This Mantra, like the universe, exists in three successive stages of development, which may be styled the Ethereal, the Spiritual, and the Corporeal.

1. The Ethereal Pantshátsharam can be neither written nor spoken. It is a "divine light, which can be perceived and enjoyed only by the enlightened soul." From this emanate the pure forms or organisms of souls; also the forms of the gods in their higher stage of development, and "of thirty-two millions of beings, [i. e. classes of beings.]"

2. The Spiritual Pantshátsharam is a development from the Ethereal, and exists in visible characters, or such as may be written, but not spoken aloud. They may be whispered in the ear of the disciple. These are: *a-u-m- Vintu-Nátham*. The first three of them constitute the mystic *óm*, (*aum*), "through the help of which," as the Véda declares, "you contemplate the Supreme Spirit." Respecting this monosyllable, Manu says, "All rites ordained in the Véda, such as oblations to fire and solemn offerings, pass away; but the monosyllable *óm* is considered to be that which passes not away, since it is a symbol of the Most High, the Lord of created beings." The sense in which *óm* is a "symbol of the Lord of created beings," is manifest, the three letters of which it is composed being the symbols, respectively, of Bráhma, Vishnu, and Siva, or of the Generator, Preserver, and Transformer of "created beings."

By this five-fold power is effected the second stage in the development of the universe of gods, men, and things, which are unfolded in classes of fives, as in their ethereal stage. Hence the five operative deities, Sathá-Sivam, Mayésuran, Siva, Vishnu and Bráhma; their Saktis; the intellectual organisms, and all the other powers of man; and other beings.

These characters also stand as the indices, or symbols, of all the various classes of fives in the second stage of development.

3. The Corporeal Pantshátsharam is the more earthly form of the same wondrous powers, being developed from the Spiritual. The characters in which it exists, are: *na-ma-si-vá-ya*. These may be written and spoken by proper persons. Their functions with respect to the corporeal stage of development, correspond to those of the previous forms with respect to the ethereal and spiritual stage.

These characters constitute the formula employed in consecrating temples, in constituting idols, etc.

The same powers are considered as incarnate, or embodied, in many things natural and artificial. As in the cow, from which are obtained the five sacred articles, namely, milk, curd, ghee, and the two evacuations; in the sacred lamp, where we have the vessel, the ghee, (which is burnt,) the fire, the wick, and the light; in the peacock, which carries in its plumage the five radical colors, yellow, black, red, green, and white; in man, monkies, rats, and the sacred tortoise, which present the five symbols in their fingers and toes. Hence, the five things from the cow, and also the lamp, are essential articles in all important ceremonies. For the same reason, the rat, as well as the peacock, is regarded as a vehicle of Deity.

These characters, like the preceding, are symbols of the individuals belonging to the classes of fives, in their mundane state of existence. These are the letters which are to be constantly repeated by the devotee in his devotions.

Thus, as stated in one of the sacred books, "you may here understand the existence and diversified nature of the five letters, how they diversify words and things, and govern the universe, and how they at length remove, [i. e. are resolved into their primeval elements or states.]"

This brief sketch will suffice to show, why it is that the Hindú attaches so much importance to this formula; and wherein consists the merit of its frequent repetition.

ARTICLE VII.

.SPECIMENS

OF THE

NAGA LANGUAGE OF ASAM

BY

REV. NATHAN BROWN,

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST UNION IN ASAM.



SPECIMENS  
OF THE  
NAGA LANGUAGE OF ASAM.

THE Nagas inhabit the extensive mountain-ranges lying on the eastern boundary of Asam, and separating it from the northern parts of Burmah. They have evidently sprung from a common stock, but are at present divided into a great number of independent tribes, often hostile to each other, and speaking a variety of dialects; which we can account for only by supposing them to have remained in their present scattered and disconnected state for many centuries. There is every ground for believing that, in origin and language, they are intimately connected with some of the most ancient and extensive tribes of Central Asia. Their language has a close affinity to the Burmese; to the Bhutan; to the Tibetan; and especially to that of the Miris and Abors, who inhabit the mountains between Asam and Tibet. The difference between this language and several of the Tartar dialects is scarcely greater than that existing between different dialects of the Nagas themselves.

The following specimens exhibit the most important varieties in the language of this people; extending from the Namsang Nagas near Jaipur on the North, to the Angamis at the farthest limit on the South. The first column is from a vocabulary taken by Rev. Mr. Bronson, during his residence on the Namsang hills; for the second and fourth columns, I am indebted to J. Thornton, Esq., Sub-assistant Commissioner for the district of Sibpur; and for the first column of Angami Naga, to a vocabulary prepared by an intelligent native, under the direction of Capt. J. Butler, of Nowgong; the others have been collected by me with considerable care, and will, I trust, be found free from any serious errors.

Leaving out of view, for the present, the Angamis of the extreme South, whose language has only a remote connection with that of the other Nagas, it will be seen, from an inspection of the table, that the language of the central tribes is divided into three distinct families of dialects; of which the Namsang, Muthun and Joboka, constitute the first; the Mulung and Tablung, the second; the Tengsa, Nogaung and Khari, the third. The tribes which speak these dialects may be arranged under the following divisions:

1. (1.) The *Namsang*, *Bor-Duor*, and *Pani-Duor*, represented in our first column; (2.) the *Bor-Muthun*, *Horu-Muthun*, and *Khulung-Muthun*; (3.) the *Joboka*, *Banjera*, and *Changnoi*. The last mentioned six tribes descend upon the plains near Sibsagor.

2. In this division we have, (1.) the *Mulung* and *Sima*; (2.) the *Tablung*, *Jaktung*, *Kongon*, *Geleki-Duor*, and southern *Namsang*. These tribes inhabit Tablung mountain and other hills in the neighborhood of Jorhat and Sibsagor. The Tablung Raja is considered the most powerful of all the Naga chiefs.

3. Our sixth and two subsequent columns represent a class of Nagas speaking a dialect considerably different from either of the former, (1.) the *Tengsa* and *Dopdor*; (2.) the *Nogaung*, *Hatigor*, *Haimong*, and *Asuring*; (3.) the *Khari*, a large and interesting tribe, whose dress and general appearance are more respectable than I have elsewhere seen among the Nagas.

Large companies from each of these tribes are found every cold season at Jorhat, which is their principal market. The Nagas connected with the Jorhat district have been roughly estimated at two hundred thousand; their real numbers are unknown.

In the following table, the vowels are used in accordance with their classical pronunciation: *a* as in *America*, and with a long accent, as in *fur*; *e* as in *met* and *prey*; *i* as in *pin* and *police*; *o* as in *not*, and with a long accent, as in *robe*; *u* like *oo*; *ü* like the French *u*. Italicized *n* resembles the French nasal *n*; and Italicized *th*, the English *th*, as in *think*.\*

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\* We are happy to refer the reader to two valuable articles by Mr. Brown, on the Tai language, and on the Indo-Chinese languages generally, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vi.; and to information on the Abor and Khamti dialects derived from him, in the same *Journal*, vol. xviii.

| English.       | Namang and<br>Bo-Dnor. | Muthun and<br>Kutlung-Muthun | Jobaka and<br>Banferi. | Muling and<br>Sima. | Tahlung and<br>Jaktung. | Tangsa and<br>Dopdor. | Nagaung and<br>Hatigor | Khari.     | Angamu   | 9 Mosome-<br>Angamu. |
|----------------|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------|----------|----------------------|
| Sky            | raungtung              | raungban                     | raungphum              | raunghe             | waunglu                 | saung                 | anyang                 | auing      | ti       | thi                  |
| Sun            | da                     | letlu                        | raungban               | le                  | le                      | tunglu                | anu                    | subhi      | naki     | naki.                |
| Moon           | merik                  | letlu                        | letlu                  | chaha               | chaha                   | lutu                  | yita                   | peti       | khar     | khari.               |
| Star           | rangro                 | rangui                       | rangui                 | otke                | otke                    | lutungting            | patinu                 | peti       | themu    | themu.               |
| Light          | raungyak               | raungnak                     | raungnak               | nyak                | nyak                    | ayung                 | arungsu                | sangó      | ngukwi   | ngukwi.              |
| Darkness       | raungyi                | raungnak                     | raungnak               | ni                  | ni                      | tunglu                | tamuta                 | asónaga    | ngumo.   | ngumo.               |
| Day            | raungyan               | raungnak                     | raungnak               | vangnak             | vangnak                 | ásangdi               | anu                    | ayth       | tuzi     | tuzi.                |
| Night          | kathakrang             | raungtung                    | raungtung              | kalsi               | kahwang                 | .....                 | .....                  | achuche    | terhome. | terhome.             |
| God            | .....                  | .....                        | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | .....                 | .....                  | .....      | .....    | .....                |
| Religion       | .....                  | .....                        | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | .....                 | .....                  | .....      | .....    | .....                |
| Soul           | dafa                   | juá                          | chasa                  | ronqwan             | asli                    | .....                 | tasur                  | tamhah     | .....    | .....                |
| Lightning      | kiepla                 | raungtakle                   | raungbit               | waunglu             | waunglu                 | chungjaphalup         | sungburp               | sundafiali | timpri   | timpri.              |
| Thunder        | raungmok               | raungtung                    | raungtung              | waunglung           | waunglung               | chungmuk              | tsamuk                 | tsamhók    | tike     | tike.                |
| Air (vul)      | póng                   | raungban                     | raungtung              | waungyang           | waungyak                | mapung                | maubung                | móng       | tikhé.   | tikhé.               |
| Earth          | ha                     | hawán                        | ha                     | katok               | katok                   | ali                   | ali                    | ali        | kiji.    | kiji.                |
| Fire           | van                    | van                          | van                    | ah                  | ah                      | masi                  | mi                     | mekau      | mi       | mi.                  |
| Water          | jó                     | ti                           | ti                     | su                  | rang                    | tu                    | tsu                    | atsui      | du       | du.                  |
| Cloud          | phum                   | raungfón                     | raungtung              | wang                | wang                    | phum                  | maabap                 | atsui      | kemhu    | kambhu.              |
| Smoke          | vanthu                 | raungfón                     | raungtung              | asi                 | asi                     | muglak                | mogó                   | atsui      | mikhu    | mikhu.               |
| Asbes          | tapla                  | vanthu                       | raungtung              | alab                | teplah                  | ayupho                | aup                    | abuh       | mige.    | mige.                |
| River          | kan                    | shoa                         | swokhá                 | yangnu              | yangnu                  | talá                  | tsulatsui              | atsui      | kerr.    | kerr.                |
| Mountain       | habó                   | habó                         | habó                   | .....               | .....                   | masan                 | mináran                | apih       | sekbá    | chaya.               |
| Road           | ham                    | ham                          | ham                    | lam                 | lam                     | ungtun                | lenang                 | hudi       | chah     | chah.                |
| Gold           | ngun                   | sien                         | sian                   | kham                | kham                    | hun (Asam.)           | rup (As.)              | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Silver         | jan                    | ngun                         | ngun                   | numang              | toinan                  | rup (As.)             | rup (As.)              | atsin      | roko     | raka.                |
| Iron           | long                   | jan                          | yan                    | yan                 | yan                     | yun                   | yun                    | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Stone          | minyan                 | long                         | long                   | yangyong            | yong                    | lungmango             | lungmango              | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Woman          | dehek                  | chukó                        | tuauuu                 | saunyak             | saunyak                 | mesung                | nyesung                | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Father         | va                     | apá                          | apá                    | chikó               | chikó                   | anakti                | nyesung                | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Mother         | lungyong               | apá                          | apá                    | opá                 | opá                     | apá                   | upá                    | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Son            | chá                    | ánu                          | ánu                    | onu                 | onu                     | apá                   | uchá                   | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Daughter       | dehekchá               | kosenu                       | kosenu                 | halom               | halom                   | tsachu                | tsapir                 | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Brother, elder | ipbó                   | taichóngpá                   | seko                   | halon               | sehei                   | nachitachu            | tsatur                 | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| " younger      | nauchóngpá             | atai                         | seko                   | chai                | sehei                   | tsatur                | tsatur                 | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Sister, elder  | angyá                  | kunau                        | kunau                  | anau                | anau                    | teno                  | tabu                   | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| " younger      | .....                  | aphe                         | anau                   | anau                | ochachei                | oti                   | oyá                    | atsin      | .....    | .....                |
| Boy            | natá                   | nausá                        | nausá                  | nausá               | naba                    | .....                 | .....                  | .....      | .....    | .....                |
| Girl           | dehekchá               | kosenu                       | nausá                  | sikó                | sikó                    | tsachu                | tsatur                 | .....      | .....    | .....                |
| Name           | man                    | man                          | man                    | man                 | min                     | kyang                 | tenung                 | tschu      | na       | na.                  |



| English.  | Namang and<br>Bor-Duor. | Methun and<br>Khatung-Methun | Jobaka and<br>Banera. | Muliang and<br>Fima. | Tabling and<br>Jatung. | Tengpa and<br>Doplor. | Namang and<br>Banera. | Khari. | Augmi. | Momose-<br>Augmi. |
|-----------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------|--------|-------------------|
| Horse     | muk                     | man                          | man                   | man                  | kwai                   | kuri                  | kór                   | kungri | kiri   | chakwi.           |
| Ox (boe)  | man                     | mai                          | mai                   | mai                  | tek                    | tyang                 | masi                  | masi   | mitbu  | mitbu.            |
| Buffalo   | le                      | loi                          | mai                   | mai                  | loknu                  | sut                   | chang                 | apang  | rati   | rati.             |
| Elephant  | puok                    | lak                          | luak                  | loknu                | sahn                   | ut                    | shiti                 | sed    | ten    | ten.              |
| Tiger     | sa                      | chanu                        | luak                  | sahn                 | sahn                   | khü                   | kay                   | abhi   | takhu  | takhu.            |
| Monkey    | veh                     | mainak                       | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tekwi  | tekwi.            |
| Goat      | kien                    | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Hog       | vak                     | vak                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Dog       | hu                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Oat       | man                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Mouse     | jipu                    | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Bird      | jó                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Hen       | vó                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Crow      | vakha                   | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Snake     | pú                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Fish      | ngá                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Butterfly | phaphe                  | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Fly       | mukchik                 | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Mosquito  | man                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Ant       | tsapchak                | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Head      | khó                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Hair      | kachó                   | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Eye       | mut                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Ear       | na                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Nose      | khó                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Mouth     | tun                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Tooth     | pu                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Back      | tam                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Belly     | rók                     | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Hand      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Finger    | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Foot      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Skinner   | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Bone      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Blood     | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Horn      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Tail      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Egg       | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Wing      | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |
| Feathers  | ak                      | mai                          | mai                   | sahn                 | sahn                   | sahn                  | shiti                 | abhi   | tesu   | tesu.             |

| English.        | Namang and Bor-Duor. | Muthun and Khulung-Muthun. | Joioka and Baidéra. | Mulung and Sina. | Taling and Jaktung. | Touga and Doplor. | Nesung and Hingor. | Khati.  | Angami. | Mozome-Angami. |
|-----------------|----------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------|---------|----------------|
| Tree            | bang                 | pan                        | pan                 | peh              | peh                 | santung           | santung            | sundóng | si      | si             |
| Root            | aring                | hutsing                    | hutsing             | phumyak          | phumyak             | tan               | sungru             | taang   | pomi    | pomi           |
| Leaf            | nyáp                 | punchak                    | huchak              | phungung         | phungung            | tan               | am                 | tuwá    | ponye   | ponye          |
| Flower          | chóngpó              | maipó                      | paupung             | tuupang          | chupung             | nolong            | nara               | taben   | popa    | popa           |
| Fruit           | ari                  | pangshi                    | paupak              | puk              | puk                 | tachang           | sungang            | mangó   | rosi    | rosi           |
| Plantain        | kieté                | vong                       | vong                | wong             | wong                | tyang             | chang              | atsang  | sako    | shiko.         |
| Rice (uncooked) | vong                 | hum                        | hum                 | hum              | hum                 | nachi             | matsu              | matsu   | metesá  | metesá         |
| Salt            | qum                  | chunti                     | tsanti              | tan              | tan                 | mamátu            | mamatsu            | mamátsu | ponutzi | ponutzi        |
| Milk            | ngupó                | manga                      | manga               | manga            | manga               | chi               | atsú               | ashé    | gakidzu | gakidzu        |
| Oil             | tandu                | ngi                        | ngi                 | ngi              | ngi                 | yángkalu          | yánok              | tenko   | kiwú    | kiwú           |
| Cloth           | khat                 | butshá                     | changkóe            | yangkoi          | yangkoi             | kongalanok        | changkungnok       | ami     | zhe     | zhe            |
| Knife           | mitchá               | changló                    | changló             | sayang           | sayang              | nyi               | lísang             | rangu   | poru.   | poru.          |
| Sword           | dangló               | pá                         | pá                  | lah              | lah                 | lu                | lasang             | lejak   | thelu   | thelu          |
| Spear           | pá                   | hap                        | hap                 | lahan            | lahan               | ki                | ku                 | aki     | ki      | ki             |
| Bow             | doakwáp              | sán                        | sán                 | nok              | nok                 | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Arrow           | lachán               | ham                        | ham                 | takap            | takap               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| House           | hum                  | .....                      | .....               | tung, chung      | tung, chung         | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Door            | há                   | tung                       | tingkhúa            | yesang           | yesang              | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Village         | khunthó              | khóa                       | khung               | helam            | absheng             | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Boat            | ngá                  | ku                         | ku                  | tau              | tau                 | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| I               | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Thou            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| He, she, it     | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| We              | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Ye              | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| They            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Mine            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Thine           | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| His             | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Me              | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Who?            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Which?          | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| What?           | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| This            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| That            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Other           | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Anything        | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Such            | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| Somebody        | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |
| All             | .....                | .....                      | .....               | .....            | .....               | .....             | .....              | .....   | .....   | .....          |

[illegible]

| English. | Namang and<br>Bor-Dior. | Muthun and<br>Kshelung-Muthuo | Joboka and<br>Banferu. | Mulung and<br>Simu. | Tahlung and<br>Jaktung. | Treaga and<br>Doplor. | Negung and<br>Hutgor | Khart.     | Angami  | Mosom-<br>Angami. |
|----------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------|---------|-------------------|
| Crooked  | akung                   | komp                          | komp                   | komp                | komp                    | koi                   | tirak                | uthang     | kergui  | krewi.            |
| Old      | ido                     | mipá                          | mipá                   | pyang               | pyong                   | tachen                | tachin               | tachin     | petá    | ponlye.           |
| New      | anyán                   | hósan                         | hósan                  | la                  | ela                     | tasan                 | tachón               | tasan      | kasá    | kasá.             |
| Ripe     | achum                   | jum                           | hóyung                 | yum                 | ejum                    | taman                 | táchon               | tenhing    | keme    | me.               |
| Green    | ahing                   | tu                            | exang                  | weng                | urung                   | tái                   | tazu                 | tachin     | memo    | memo.             |
| Sour     | tsi                     | shi                           | si                     | su                  | ei                      | tánang                | tánang               | miang      | rosi    | che.              |
| Bitter   | akhá                    | kha                           | kha                    | khát                | khá                     | senla                 | tánang               | tehsan     | kekhye  | kyiye.            |
| Hot      | akham                   | kham                          | hábung                 | shem                | shem                    | paklá                 | tánang               | kha        | khú     | chasi.            |
| Cold     | aki                     | rangtham                      | rangtham               | wangsam             | wangsam                 | áchik                 | tátok                | tetsa      | leue    | khakwu.           |
| Good     | asan                    | mai                           | mai                    | manlan              | manlan                  | chóng                 | tátóng               | tayang     | si      | si.               |
| Bad      | achí                    | manmai                        | manmai                 | yemci               | yemci                   | chóng                 | matóng               | aró        | vi      | vi.               |
| Handsome | asana                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | koangchóng            | matóng               | maró       | so      | so.               |
| Ugly     | paunglá                 | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | machóng               | machóng              | maró       | zevi    | zevi.             |
| Fat      | atat                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | tabók                 | tabók                | tabit      | soja    | shopur.           |
| Lean     | árim                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | apo                   | apo                  | achi       | potsü   | pomoja.           |
| Thick    | .....                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | malam                 | malam                | melem      | gse     | seponorú.         |
| Thin     | achá                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | malam                 | malam                | se         | se      | si.               |
| Heavy    | ali                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | apu                   | tawu                 | apai       | rapü    | maki.             |
| Light    | aké                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | let                   | tarup                | achang     | mesa    | peleho.           |
| Hard     | aché                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | aphi                  | tapung               | abhi       | meja    | poshe.            |
| Soft     | ayen                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | malang                | tanrong              | nurang     | kharr   | kharr.            |
| Sharp    | ana                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | nyála                 | tanap                | luelo      | kharr   | kharr.            |
| Dull     | atók                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | chú                   | tachü                | polovi     | polovi  | polovi.           |
| White    | apó                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | machü                 | machü                | machá      | poloswe | polosho.          |
| Black    | anyak                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | mesang                | tanasang             | meing      | kekyá   | kacha.            |
| Blue     | aham                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | nyak                  | tanak                | nak        | keti    | kati.             |
| Green    | ahing                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | nyangyang             | tanak                | chingmi    | losü    | kapaje.           |
| Red      | achak                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | tacham                | tacham               | shimphuluk | kepeje  | uri.              |
| Yellow   | amien                   | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | malam                 | maram                | tamiram    | keperi  | amri.             |
| Be       | doog                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | nyan                  | tanam                | tanam      | mehe    | tanamahe.         |
| Do       | ró                      | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | ale, nyi              | yóng                 | li         | ni      | be.               |
| Live     | hing                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | mabachan              | anyakar              | thamin     | pu      | se.               |
| Die      | ri                      | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | kan                   | takam                | thamin     | se      | shileto.          |
| Eat      | sa                      | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | si                    | tasur                | sio        | sá tá   | sete.             |
| Drink    | chá                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | tyu                   | chingóng             | chá        | chá     | chi.              |
| Sleep    | jók                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | tyum                  | chingóng             | tsang      | tsang   | chí.              |
| Wako     | jup                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | amni                  | chingóng             | tsang      | tsang   | chí.              |
| Laugh    | ngi                     | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | phayá                 | manu                 | manit      | manit   | manit.            |
| Weep     | isap                    | .....                         | .....                  | .....               | .....                   | chay                  | manu                 | chip       | kra     | kra.              |

| English. | Namung and Bor-Door. | Mutien and Kintang-Mutien. | Jabaka and Banfer. | Maling and Sima. | Tablung and Jaktung. | Tungpa and Topobor. | Nungung and Hangor. | Khari.    | Angami. | Mosom-Angami. |
|----------|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------|---------|---------------|
| Speak    | thó                  | báh                        | wan                | tahá             | tah                  | guang               | chang               | aihuahang | depu    | pui.          |
| Hear     | tát                  | athat                      | xát                | chai             | chai                 | áng                 | sangáin             | jan       | sá      | silo.         |
| Know     | iját                 | avan                       | thai               | chin             | chun                 | ning                | natúr               | mete      | si      | lu.           |
| Sing     | sésé                 | chuan, taino               | shun               | hein             | lok                  | alo                 | kaután              | athutan   | keli    | kena.         |
| Dance    | ru                   | wán                        | azai               | lok              | bhengo               | mayo                | ya                  | chilotat  | .....   | thale.        |
| Stand    | chap                 | ajong                      | ajong              | yong             | yong                 | septak              | nótak               | huadigili | sethe   | tothe.        |
| Sit      | tóng                 | núg                        | ngó                | im               | um                   | man                 | man                 | man       | tosche  | mbatba.       |
| Walk     | chó, kium            | tóng, kiá                  | adum               | tai              | iang                 | asambat             | wang                | prangchus | topera  | pridi.        |
| Run      | chuan                | rit, pau                   | rik                | piat             | phat                 | asambat             | samwang             | semekwang | turwe   | leto.         |
| Fall     | ijá                  | det                        | dát                | lau              | yét                  | argo                | tat                 | athan     | leto    | pháiya.       |
| Want     | ilam                 | háang                      | láng               | langpa           | tau                  | chila               | talyú               | chamíl    | bá      | pháiya.       |
| Have     | itóng                | kaptan                     | tau                | tau              | am                   | nakhá               | óakar               | liu       | pháiya  | uli.          |
| Seek     | lan                  | lam                        | lam                | yambu            | am                   | ngá                 | yam                 | émasóng   | muli    | siwa.         |
| Get      | ichu                 | kap                        | kap                | tau              | an                   | kelang              | ngó                 | ban       | lele    | thurli.       |
| Give     | kó                   | lahai                      | plá                | yakai            | yakhu                | an, choko           | kwang               | khu       | seve    | seya.         |
| Take     | kap                  | pau                        | la, kap            | yaya             | yaknai               | khálu               | niagr               | han, hira | sete    | sate.         |
| Bring    | van                  | lahai                      | van                | yakai            | yakei                | cheba               | an                  | henera    | sete    | tupe.         |
| Carry    | kapkat               | paukau                     | pau                | noh              | noh                  | .....               | peuru               | .....     | peseto  | pebe.         |
| Lift up  | tuon                 | lau, pai                   | non                | cp               | aiyo                 | .....               | achóngatóng         | chung     | pezo    | vapa.         |
| Put down | thien                | thun                       | thampo             | yom              | yobu                 | .....               | yong                | chiáu     | dua     | kisa.         |
| Break    | ngauk-yet            | pak                        | thapak             | tak              | kotiko               | .....               | chakmuk             | chak      | pholi   | meki.         |
| Break    | duak                 | hat                        | hat                | lang             | tulebe               | .....               | talube              | leplak    | seke    | talawa.       |
| Tear     | thasyet              | .....                      | aket               | .....            | ásitong              | .....               | tashu               | kin       | du      | dukhi.        |
| Bite     | hak                  | thut                       | teat               | chai             | .....                | mekur               | tangur              | ngu       | techtut | khu.          |
| Full     | yet                  | be                         | lit, be            | sui              | .....                | athi                | atsur               | sede      | reva    | lashocho.     |
| Push     | thuphet              | tham                       | thom               | chung            | .....                | nong                | tatur               | nung      | tele    | kanye.        |
| Strike   | rák                  | .....                      | maupo              | .....            | tapthet              | asek, si            | yak                 | yakait    | vorhij  | mithi.        |
| Kill     | lang                 | languan                    | languan            | toi              | .....                | to                  | ások                | rem       | ponuma  | ponuma.       |
| Bury     | han                  | khan                       | akhan              | lou              | mu                   | masik               | asaur               | lung      | meli    | mekamat.      |
| Burn     | thak                 | shun                       | shun               | shek             | atung                | mesen               | tatsuk              | mesen     | telu    | teke.         |
| Love     | ring/sá              | lungchia                   | chun               | otoi             | yalyang              | .....               | tamenur             | chasing   | keruma  | keruma.       |
| Hate     | chinyá               | mitchak                    | achia              | auhung           | laung                | chabá               | tasambur            | chuphá    | kedzu   | chale.        |
| Fear     | ché                  | ráh                        | rá                 | nyam             | saam                 | .....               | asbamte             | an        | jeli    | chá.          |
| Be angry | rinkhá               | mongtik                    | sá, mongtik        | yapah            | mongsi               | .....               | an                  | hundup    | liti    | rá.           |
| Quarrel  | man                  | medkap                     | shé                | lang             | haiteuang            | tiap                | leplap              | hundup    | mele    | inchumemo     |
| Steal    | hu                   | hu                         | ahu                | ku               | ku                   | au                  | anyur               | hundup    | .....   | .....         |
| Buy      | ri                   | hang                       | sak                | yau              | ali                  | .....               | li                  | huai      | .....   | .....         |
| Sell     | sang                 | mók                        | mok                | toiling          | .....                | allam               | anyak               | yuk       | .....   | .....         |
| Work     | mó                   | .....                      | anyá               | .....            | .....                | manachin            | akazutu             | malogili  | .....   | .....         |
| Play     | lu                   | .....                      | .....              | .....            | .....                | achikalu            | .....               | .....     | .....   | .....         |

| English     | Namang and Bor-dior. | Muthun and Khutlung Muthun | Jobeka and Bofera. | Muling and Sina. | Tabling and Jaktung. | Togara and Dopder. | Nangang and Ilavog. | Khari.     | Angem.     | Muzom-<br>Angem. |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------|------------|------------------|
| I go        | ngelakéang           |                            | ngolekungpue       |                  | ngachenbu            | niwáro             |                     | niwáro     | atolee     | totache.         |
| Thou goest  | áelakéka             |                            | hangpaupe          |                  | hangcheula           | palwágo            |                     | palwágo    | nototawe   | totawe.          |
| He goes     | ngelákak             |                            | uchupaule          |                  | pachenbo             | pawágo             |                     | pawágo     | hanpitowe. | hanpitowe.       |
| I went      | ngakáréang           |                            | kungole            |                  | nganasobo            | niwajau            |                     | niwajau    | atowe      | dutolowe.        |
| I will go   | ngakáréang           |                            | paweha             |                  | ngachenlo            | nyautsi            |                     | wówáro     | aritotowe  | thiedu woto.     |
| I go not    | káuo                 |                            | manpaupu           |                  | ngamachenlo          | nyamautsu          |                     | niwásoh    | atomoe     | tholowe.         |
| Go thou     | ngakpaulá            |                            | ngakpaulá          |                  | ngachuenlo           | nautsi             |                     | ngawang    | rotche.    | rotche.          |
| Go not      | nakkáuo              |                            | tapau              |                  | machuenlo            | tówatsi            |                     | tawá       | rotche     | rotche.          |
| Come here   |                      |                            | haman              |                  | etaktáhu             | ilenyau            |                     | limerang   | hakvotche  | akfriche.        |
| Be silent   | naktinuo             |                            |                    |                  |                      |                    |                     | tukurá     | chesibache | chesibache.      |
| Look!       |                      |                            |                    |                  |                      |                    |                     | atsong     | muche      | hapuche.         |
| Do you see? |                      |                            | hangachá           |                  | nanangakhai          | naungurmo          |                     | atsong     | mume       | nguwe.           |
| Give me     | nganaukóo            |                            | kulupá             |                  | ngalikhalang         | kanamkwa           |                     | nikhang    | atsuche    | pinanaisile.     |
| Give him    | áténang kóo          |                            | heyangako          |                  | palhotang            | panumkang          |                     | palikhang  | matsoche   | pelutchu.        |
| Bird's wing | To                   |                            | órang              |                  | uzushukang           | usóáká             |                     | ozachá     |            |                  |
| To          | nang                 |                            |                    |                  | hai                  | tang               |                     | ná         |            |                  |
| With        | dannang              |                            | hangpaupe          |                  | suga                 | yasu               |                     | ashe       |            |                  |
| In          | humnyu               | kha                        | hunklo             | seh              | atap                 | long               |                     | egu        | polu       |                  |
| On          | akhóng               |                            | hankhá             |                  | tathak               | talak              |                     | tamtige    |            |                  |
| Above       | akhóng               | ting                       | hoding             | kawang           | tathak               | talak              |                     | tamachingu | pomoh      | bale.            |
| Below       | akhamang             | hopláng                    | hoplang            | ophang           | tachung              | tsang              |                     | tamókung   | pokro      | chaktache.       |
| Between     |                      |                            | hokhá              | hokhá            | ulan                 | kuma               |                     | tióng      |            |                  |
| Within      |                      |                            | kwoto              | atap             | atap                 | talóng             |                     | tsunge     |            |                  |
| Without     | vika                 | wai, changpu               | changpoe           | aiya             | ma                   | taláng             |                     | tsunge     | motá       | kinu.            |
| Yes         | idanga               | yan                        | changpoe           | aiya             | ho                   | taláng             |                     | tsunge     | ue         | kinu.            |
| No          | má                   | manai                      | manai              | yan              | mangha               | sa                 |                     | lau        |            | e.               |
| Why?        | vétó                 |                            | tunlang            |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | ngongó     | mo         | mwae.            |
| How!        | chento               |                            | balapia            |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| How much?   | árangrang            |                            | oborá              |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Thus        | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Here        | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| There       | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Where?      | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Now         | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Then        | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| To-day      | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| Yesterday   | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |
| To-morrow   | anang                |                            | inying             |                  | katikang             | anyakang           |                     | chibatsawi | sinoo      | hapi.            |



ARTICLE VIII.

CHINESE CULTURE :

OR

REMARKS ON THE CAUSES

OF THE

PECULIARITIES OF THE CHINESE.

BY

REV. SAMUEL R. BROWN,

LATE PRINCIPAL OF THE MORRISON SCHOOL AT HONG-KONG, CHINA.

(Read October 17, 1850.)





## CHINESE CULTURE.

WE are in the habit of calling the present an age of movement and progress. True, it is so, but with some important limitations. One half of the world, we may say, is astir in every new enterprise; but the other, slightly jostled by its commotion, is just beginning to awake from the slumber of ages. If we take the mean of the various estimates of the population of our globe, we shall find it to be not far from eight hundred millions. It is certainly remarkable that the half of this aggregate is now and has long been under one political organization, and that four hundred millions of men have the same literature, laws and institutions. We refer to the Chinese nation.

Hitherto, little has been known of this great portion of the human family. They have as it were been walled out from the common intercourse of man; and there in the remote East has been solved an unique problem in human history. Little, very little, has been done for ages to disturb the operation of those causes which have combined to make China what she is. Antipodal to us in her position on the globe, she is scarcely less so in many other particulars. She has taken no note of human progress elsewhere.

But we have fallen upon a new era in her history. The period has arrived when, as the earthquake darts a tremor from pole to pole, the advancing movements of the Occidental world begin to send their vibrations to the farthest East. God, it has been well said, often works by delays in the great scheme of his providence. It is but two centuries and a half since it was said in the chronicles of the times, that "Russia was discovered." Eleven years later, a divine hand planted the first colony of white men on these shores. Now again, after having suffered China to maintain an anomalous existence for thousands of years, the same power has

unlocked her gates, and opened her coast to the world. The old exclusive system of Tartar policy has not been broken up; but the beginning of a change has been made, and therein is contained the pledge of its completion at no very distant day. That selfish and unsocial political creed has received a shock from which it never can recover. The nation may fall in with the common movement of mankind towards a better state, but never can retrace its steps, so as to take its former lonely and stationary position. The Chinese people must come fully into the community of nations. The age of change has overtaken them, and they cannot wholly withstand it. Their language, their religion, and their social and political state, must hereafter be subjected to the influences that have so powerfully operated to modify or renovate those of other nations. To the Christian, the scholar, and the philanthropist, then, a new and vast sphere has been thrown open, wherein to exercise their kindly offices.

Our purpose at the present time is to notice some of the most efficient causes that have been long at work there, moulding and fashioning more especially the Chinese mind into its present shape and dimensions, and giving to every thing that belongs to it, good or bad, its present character. Pursuing this course, we may first take note of the geographical position of the Chinese empire. This has had much to do with the formation of the character of its inhabitants.

It is by no means an insignificant question in reference to any people, whether the bounds of their habitation are formed by a surrounding ocean, in whole or in part, or are altogether inland; whether they are heated by a tropical sun, or stiffened by polar cold, or subjected to such varieties of climate as are found in the temperate zone. When the Ruler of the universe assigned Eastern Asia to the Chinese, casting up mountain-barriers on the North, the West, and the South, with the ocean on the East, to form its natural boundaries, he had a purpose in it. Within that vast enclosure he was to develop a chapter in human history which owes its leading features in no small degree to its situation on the map of the globe. Its very remoteness from Europe and America has tended to leave that country unaffected by influences from abroad. Rome studied in the school of Greece, and the other Euro-

pean nations took lessons from Rome; but the Chinese have educated themselves at home. But the geographical boundaries of their country seem, still more than their remoteness, to have excluded them from the rest of the nations. They could hardly have been more isolated, if China had been girded on all sides by broad seas. The natural consequence of this seclusion was, that they maintained a separate existence, and had an independent growth, and a self-made character. No nation from beyond the present boundaries of the empire ever, till lately, invaded their territory. They felt no foreign power, and hence learned to fear and respect none. They depended upon none but themselves, and so learned to rely upon their own resources. While the nations of Western Asia and Europe were impinging upon each other, in hostile collisions, or in the peaceful interchange of the products of the earth and the mind, or more than all perhaps through the working of the potent leaven of Christianity diffused among them, the subjects of the Chinese monarchy scarcely heeded their existence, much less the changes through which they passed. Political revolutions abroad produced no effect upon them, as they scarcely had dealings with their nearest neighbors. This was the effect of their geographical position. In addition to this, the generally favorable climate, the general fertility of the soil, the various and abundant national resources, and the facility of intercommunication between the most distant parts of the country, afforded by means of rivers, (a facility which has been greatly increased by art,) are physical causes that have always tended to make the Chinese contented in their own land, and to check emigration. Industry is not discouraged there, as it is in the Arctic regions; nor is indolence begotten by extreme fertility, as in tropical climes; but there has always been at once necessity to provoke labor, and production to reward it. This may also, in some measure, account for the early advancement of China in civilization. It was a region peculiarly favorable to the development of industry, and men were left alone there, so far as foreign war is concerned, to try in peace their physical, moral and intellectual powers; and that with a strong impulse, from their national seclusion, to exercise their inventive faculties. Hence, when the rest of the world was comparatively in a state of barbarism,

China was perhaps in advance of all other countries in respect to the arts and comforts of civilized life.

Such in general has been her position in reference to the other great families of man, for many centuries. It matters little that the existence of this people was known to the Western nations, at an early period. Until recently, every attempt to promote a more intimate and frequent intercourse with China has failed. Of all the foreign powers that made the experiment, during centuries, none but Russia, whose Siberian dominions are adjacent to the Chinese empire, could ever effect a treaty with the great monarch of the East, or cause him to regard an envoy in any other light than that of a tribute-bearer. On the other hand, China never sent a political ambassador to any foreign court or government whatever, if we except that to the Khan of the Tunguse Tartars. There has she stood among the kingdoms of the earth, almost as regardless of the rest as if she were the only power in the world. Without taking into view the facts which have been referred to, it would be difficult, not to say impossible, to account for such an anomaly in the history of the world. It is manifest that distance and seclusion from other nations have contributed to give the Chinese the unique character which they retain to this day. Whatever that character might be, it was necessarily after its own kind, it was *sui generis*.

Another important clue to the right apprehension of a nation's character, is its language. The Chinese language is so singular, in the phenomena of its structure, as to entitle it to the attention of intelligent persons as a part of the history of the human mind. But it has higher claims to notice, because it is the medium through which four hundred millions of mankind, occupying a territory more extensive than all Europe, communicate their ideas. Its high antiquity is unquestionable. There are reasons independent of Chinese testimony, or Chinese chronology, for believing it to be one of the oldest languages of the Confusion. The human mind is essentially the same in all countries. Hence we look for some resemblances in those creations of the mind which are intended for the same, or similar purposes. Accordingly we find, in the arts, substantially the same kind of tools used by men of the same craft, in France and India, in China and America. But language is the instrument

which the mind universally employs as the medium of intercourse between man and man, and we might expect to find, if not an universal language, at least as many analogies and resemblances between the vehicles of thought in use among different nations, as we do between their implements of art. This natural expectation is in a good degree realized in the languages of Europe. The alphabets of many of them, and to a considerable extent their words, are identical, or at least traceable to a common origin. But when one lands upon the shores of China, he feels that he is, emphatically, among a people of a strange tongue. Every word he perceives to be a monosyllable, a peculiarity not found in any other tongue except the Cochin-Chinese, which is evidently kindred to the Chinese. In order to be intelligible to one another, the Chinese throw synonymous words together, and thus form compound words; but yet, strictly speaking, all their words are monosyllabic. The stranger observes also a peculiar indistinctness of articulation, as if consonants were of little account, and an unusually frequent repetition of the same sound, apparently of the same word, which is not altogether attributable to his ignorance of the language. He hears a strongly marked rising inflection of voice at the end of a sentence, and supposes that it indicates a question. But he is told that this is no sign of an interrogation; it is a tone that belongs to the word, and is always given to it, whenever and in whatever connection it is uttered. He thinks again that he hears an assertion; but his interpreter informs him that the supposed affirmative tone was an expression of doubt. The modulations of voice which he takes to be indicative of emotion in the speaker, have not the remotest association with it. On the contrary, he must dispossess himself of one of the very instincts of his nature, and when he listens to a Chinese, must dissociate his tones of voice from any and every state of feeling in the speaker, because his intonations have not the office of expression, as in other languages. They are only an expedient to increase the number of distinct words in the language. Every word has one of these tones belonging to it, which is as inseparable from it as the other vocal elements of which it is composed. The paucity of words distinguishable from one another by the ear, is such that it has been found necessary to vary

them by means of four tones, in order to increase the number.

In Morrison's Dictionary, we find twelve thousand six hundred and seventy-four characters, having forms and meanings distinct from each other. But in representing them all by Roman letters, the author produced only four hundred and eleven different syllables. These, if accentuated by four tones, would give a little more than one thousand six hundred distinguishable enunciations for all the words in the court-dialect, that is, for all the twelve thousand six hundred and seventy-four contained in the Dictionary to which reference has been made. Thus we have an average of eight words, spelt and pronounced exactly alike, for every sound in the one thousand six hundred.

But the Chinese do not avail themselves of all the advantage afforded by their tonic system, and in fact there are only about one thousand different sounds in use. Yet what are one thousand words to the wants of man? How great must be the difficulty of communicating any but the most common ideas, by means of speech, and how much room must there be for mistake and confusion in the use of such a language! There are of course many words perfectly homophonous, but unlike in signification. For example, there are in Morrison's Dictionary two hundred and twelve characters each of which is pronounced *che*; one hundred and thirteen pronounced *ching*; one hundred and thirty-eight pronounced *foo*; one hundred and sixty-five pronounced *chih*; and no less than one thousand one hundred and sixty-five which are all read *e*. Now when the written representatives of these words are before the eye, they are readily distinguished by their forms, for there are no two alike. But when one hears the word *che* spoken, the question arises: Which of the two hundred and twelve *ches* is it? If it is *e* that he hears, how shall he identify it among the one thousand one hundred and sixty-five characters so pronounced? The difficulty is partially obviated by joining two synonyms that differ in sound, so that the hearer, if uncertain as to the meaning of one, may possibly recognize that of the other. At other times, the Chinese form a set phrase out of two or three words which become associated by usage, much like the parts of a compound word in English, so that one suggests the other, and at the same time explains it.

But after all there is a defect in the language, and none of the expedients devised for its remedy have been successful. The defect is a radical one, and lies in its monosyllabic basis. The stock of monosyllables was exhausted long before the demands of the language had been met. As more words were required, they were first supplied by applying tones to those already in use; and when this source of increase failed, there remained to the Chinese mind no other expedient but to repeat the words already in existence for the remaining purposes of speech. It is this feature of the language, more than any other, that renders it so difficult to be acquired by an adult foreigner. Men who have resided in China fifteen or twenty years, for the purposes of trade, generally leave the country as unable to speak it as they were on the day they landed there.

The peculiarities above-mentioned do not exist, to the writer's knowledge, any where else, except in the Anamitic, or Cochinchinese language, where all the words are monosyllables, for writing which the Chinese character is used, and where a system of tones is also employed. The Anamitic is however a cognate dialect, bearing much the same relation to the Chinese, as the Chaldee does to the Hebrew. The monosyllabic and tonic character of the words in both is a more certain index of their common origin than the identity of their mode of representing them to the eye. This character of its words marks the Chinese language as having had a growth, if not an origin, separate from others. It would seem as if the Chinese nation had in the remotest antiquity sequestered itself from the rest of mankind, and adopted a system of speech purposely fitted, or at least certain, to confine their own ideas within a narrow compass, and to prevent their expansion by intercourse with others. Such have been the results of the system, whatever the design may have been. What else but a cramped and stunted growth and development of mind, like that of their own much admired dwarf-trees in flower-pots, could result from the use of such a medium of intercourse among them? Starting with and tenaciously adhering to a monosyllabic structure of words, they found it impossible to multiply them beyond one or two thousand; and when the restless mind sought to go beyond the length of this short tether, in giving expression to its conceptions and emotions, it was



compelled to resign itself to its fate, and sink back into listlessness and inactivity, or to move round and round in the same circle, with that chain as its constant radius. No wonder that, in such circumstances, the minds of men have become tame and inane, that thought has lost its freshness, vigor and originality, and that China presents to us that which, in intellectual respects, more resembles a catacomb of mummies than a nation of living men.

The Chinese language is not only peculiar in these respects, but unsocial in its very genius. The tones of the human voice, that elsewhere perform the high office of expression, conveying from mind to mind most intelligible signs of the emotions of the speaker, are in China strangely forbidden to subserve this purpose, and limited to the mere multiplication of words. It follows, then, that there are slender means of indicating by the voice, either the tender or the severe, the joyous or the sad,—that there is little room, in short, for pathos in the language. Hence oratory is unknown in China.

Every one who is at all familiar with the Chinese mind, is aware that one of its most prominent characteristics is, not indolence, but a sort of stoicism or insensibility. Tell a Chinese a joke, and he will smile; tell him a tale of suffering, and there are ten chances to one that he will do the same. Let him see a fellow creature in peril of his life, and it is by no means certain that he will rush to his rescue. The good Samaritan is seldom represented by a Chinese. One of the suite attached to Lord Macartney's embassy to Peking, relates that while they were on the Grand Canal, a boat's crew were by some accident precipitated into the water, and in imminent danger of drowning; but no effort was made by the bystanders to rescue them from their perilous situation, though one individual was noticed in the act of trying to save a hat that was floating upon the water. The writer once saw a vessel capsized in the harbor of Hongkong, in full view of hundreds of boatmen, and had occasion to observe that it was a painfully long time before any of them pulled off from the shore to rescue their countrymen from drowning.

There are few subjects on which the Chinese appear to be as readily excitable, or capable of as strong emotion, as the people of the West, or even those of Central or South-

ern Asia. Now this national characteristic is not to be attributed to any one cause alone; but is it not reasonable to suppose that the peculiarity of their language, to which we have just adverted, has had some influence in producing it? If a muscle or limb be long restrained from free exercise, it loses its power. Will not the mind also, if not permitted to express its emotions in the natural way, gradually become torpid and insensible? The feelings being cramped and confined, for want of a medium of utterance, diminish in intensity, in proportion as this law of restraint is imposed upon them. If they be denied the use of the tones of the human voice, they have no instruments of expression left, but the countenance, gesticulation, and attitude. They are deprived of that which is the best of all, because it was designed for this end, and hence relapse into habitual stupor. There is much reason to believe that this is one part of the process by which the Chinese mind has become so difficult to be rallied into a glow of strong excitement. If the people made their language, it is not the less true that the language has made the people.

What has been said thus far, relates to the language as it is spoken. It remains to give some account of the written character. The invention of letters is ascribed, by Chinese historians, to Tsang Kee, who lived four thousand five hundred and ten years ago. This is doubtless an extravagant assumption. Still, their origin must have been very ancient. There are odes now extant, which were composed, it is said, by two individuals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries before Christ. Several instances also occur in the previous history of the country, in which written messages were sent, and events recorded. The posthumous titles of emperors were engraven on stone tablets, and placed in temples, as early as B. C. 1122. It may perhaps be safely inferred that the art of writing was known in the country as early as the thirteenth century before our era.

The Chinese seem to have begun to write by making pictures of familiar objects, such as the sun, moon, man, etc. to represent to the eye, or rather to recall to the mind, through the eye, the names by which those objects were already known. Thus a circle with a dot stood for the word *yih*, or the sun; a crescent, for the word *yuë*, or the moon; and so on. It is manifest from the inspection of these sym-

bols, that they furnish no means by which a person unacquainted with the Chinese names to be attached to them, could ascertain their proper reading. They would rarely suggest to a stranger the names by which he had been taught to designate the objects which they represent. None but a Chinese would call the one *yih*, and the other *yuë*. In other words, there is no spelling by which the name of the symbol can be ascertained.

This pictorial system of writing could not, in the nature of things, be carried to any great extent. It was too complicated and cumbersome, beside being poorly adapted to express abstract ideas. It would be difficult to depict the idea of softness, or hardness, justice, or mercy, and numerous other things that have no visible forms, so as to make the representations available for the purposes of writing. The consequence was, that this mode of writing was early superseded by another. A Chinese writer on this subject says that the whole number of these pictorial symbols amounted to two thousand four hundred and twenty-five. The next step was to combine these primitive symbols in such a way as to represent sounds. The mode of doing this appears to have been, to select some one of the existing characters, of precisely the same sound as the word or name for the object about to be represented in writing, and to join it to another character expressive of the most prominent feature of that object. For example, the word *ho* is composed of two characters, *ho* and *shuuy*; the first is an auxiliary particle denoting may, might, can, could, and the second represents water. That is, the name for a river having the sound *ho*, the character *ho* was taken as indicative of the pronunciation, and the character *shuuy* to give a clue to the meaning, and both together formed the new character *ho*, which is the written word for a river.

This is the nearest approach which the Chinese have made to a phonetic system of writing. By committing to memory some two thousand of the primitive symbols, a person might have a tolerably safe guide to the pronunciation of three-fourths of the words in the language. But as to the remainder, there is no means of deciding what their pronunciation may be. For example, the word *ming* signifies bright, or brightness, or is equivalent to the Latin *illustrare*. The left part of the character is *yih*, or the sun,

and the right is *yuë*, or the moon. But the two together are neither pronounced *yih*, nor *yuë*, but *ming*. The word *ho*, written differently from *ho* a river, is compounded of two others, of which one is *neu*, a woman, and the other, *tsz'*, a child, and both together form *ho*, an adjective signifying good. The word *e* is compounded of *yang*, a sheep, and *ngo*, the personal pronoun I, and the combination of the two means justice, which is pronounced *e*. These examples will suffice to illustrate the point. Practically, the whole body of written words in the language are, to the Chinese, like these last mentioned, for they neither learn nor teach the art of reading by means of the phonetics. Indeed it is probably true, that few of the educated Chinese know any thing about them. In the course of eight years' residence among them, and while employing various native teachers to assist him in the study of the Chinese, the writer never met with one who was aware that this feature existed in the written character. The phonetic method of writing was apparently introduced so late, and in so peculiar a way, that nearly all the benefit of it is lost. It would have been almost as well, had people proceeded as they began, and invented a separate arbitrary symbol for every word in the language. In all other parts of the world, men seem to have been impelled as by a common instinct, or necessity, to adopt either an alphabetic or syllabic mode of writing. In this way, the process of learning to read has been rendered simple and easy. It is only necessary to learn the powers and forms of a few letters, or a short list of syllables, (as in the case of the Japanese, or the Korean,) and one is furnished with a key to the pronunciation of every word in the language.

The Chinese, on the contrary, have neither alphabet nor syllabary, or, if we may so express it, they have as many letters in their alphabet as they have words in their language. There are few things in which this people have not the merit of being original, and in the matter now under discussion none will be disposed to call in question their originality. Suppose that the English language had at first consisted of only twenty-six words, and that these words had been represented in writing by the letters of our alphabet, *a* standing for one word, and *b* for another, and so on. We should then have a miniature representation of the

**Chinese system of writing.** But suppose, again, that our language had increased its stock of words to the number of fifty thousand, or eighty thousand, and that as words were multiplied, new letters were added to the original twenty-six, (a letter for each word, as at first,) until the number of letters also became fifty thousand, or eighty thousand. To learn to read such a language would have been a very different thing from what it now is to read English. Now, although the analogy between this and the Chinese mode of writing does not hold good in all respects, as has been shown in the foregoing remarks on phonetics, still, so far as the practical effect upon the increase, acquisition and communication of knowledge is concerned, it does. Long as the Chinese have insisted upon the importance of education to the well-being of a people, they have never availed themselves of even the partial aid in simplifying the process of learning to read, which the phonetic characters hold out to them. The scholar in their schools has always been obliged to go through the laborious drudgery of learning the form, pronunciation, and meaning of each character by itself, as really as if there had been no affinities whatever between their written elements, just as a child among us learns the letters of the alphabet.

Was there ever a more ingenious contrivance for making the process of learning difficult? Who could devise a fitter scheme to make the road to knowledge long and tiresome? With us, the child is but a few weeks, or months, in learning to use the "wings of thought," while the son of Han spends a life time in learning to fly. He is, he is compelled to be, an abecedarian as long as he lives. Thus again is the Chinese mind hampered. How can it be otherwise, with such a task to perform? It is occupied, through the best part of life, with the effort to retain the mere names of arbitrary symbols. The memory is the only faculty that is exercised, and even that is very much limited in its action, being doomed to be the mere repository of words.

The written language has undergone some changes in the lapse of ages. Words have increased in number. Some have become obsolete, and others have changed their signification. The ancient and modern forms of characters also differ from each other. But by reason of the small number of distinct sounds in the language, and for want of an alpha-

bet, it has a singular inaptness to multiply words. In the Imperial Dictionary of Kanghí, there are forty-four thousand four hundred and forty-nine words. To learn all these were surely enough for any man. He would be a clever child who should master the half of them in the time usually allotted to learning to read. Here then is a strong objection to increasing the number of characters. There are enough already to occupy years of study. Again, it is as difficult to introduce foreign words into the language as it is to smuggle a foreigner into the interior of the empire. Whether the word to be introduced be spoken or written, it becomes so miserably disfigured by the operation, that its most familiar acquaintances can hardly recognize it, or divine its meaning. Take a foreign name, for instance. There are ten chances to one that the Chinese are unable to imitate its pronunciation. If it be a word of more than one syllable, the Chinese cannot pronounce it, unless among the one thousand monosyllables which they use, there be an enunciation corresponding to each of the syllables in the foreign word. In multitudes of cases there is no such homophony of Chinese words with the syllables of words from other languages. In order to write the foreign word *à la Chinoise*, the writer selects as many Chinese characters as the word has syllables, and writes them one after the other, like the other words in a sentence, but without any mark to indicate to the reader that they are to be connected so as to form a foreign word. They appear, on the contrary, to be distinct words in the sentence, like all the rest, while in fact they are used merely for their sound, without any reference to their signification. If the imitation were, or could be, generally good in respect to sound, there would be less to complain of in this mode of introducing foreign words. But a few examples of proper names, taken at random, will show how wretchedly they become travestied by the transfer. America, in the dialect of Canton, becomes *Mi li ko*; France is *Fat lán sai*; England is *Ying kat lí kwok*; and Russia is metamorphosed into *Ngó ló sz' kwok*. These will suffice for our purpose. It is evident that the Chinese language has the least possible affinity for any other. A thornbush will receive a scion from the pear, but this language is a tree that almost wholly refuses to be grafted. It is strange, indeed, that a great nation should have adopted

a system of speech and writing so hostile to every other; that so large a part of the human family should have hit upon such an expedient to resist all attempts at the increase of knowledge from abroad. But so it is. The Chinese orthography is fit only for an exclusive people.

Nor do the Chinese seem much more inclined to coin words, than they are to admit other innovations. Authorized new words rarely come into use. Now and then, some official dignitary, or literary man, devises a new combination of existing elements, or of pencil-strokes; but such cases are rare. While numberless spoken words spring up in the dialects of the country, more especially in those parts where foreign intercourse has rendered them necessary, still the dictionaries seldom contain them. A late Lieutenant Governor of Canton once issued an edict respecting the locusts that were ravaging the rice-fields; and having occasion to speak of the insect in its chrysalis state, he found no written term for it, and therefore invented one. Frequent inquiries have been made for words of recent origin in that language, and so far as the writer's observation extends, not more than half a dozen have been discovered. It is almost needless to add, that the system of writing of which we have been speaking, has greatly trammelled the mind of that people. Together with the other causes that have been mentioned, this has confined thought to a very limited range, and discouraged progression beyond certain fixed boundaries.

It is true that Chinese literature is ample in quantity, and variety. It comprises works on language, statistics, topography, biography, poetry, natural history, ethics, astronomy, arts, manners and customs; also antiquarian researches, governmental edicts, or state-documents; and works on jurisprudence, rites and ceremonies, medicine, geography, Buddhism, and other religious systems, works of fiction, and books for juvenile readers. Such are the headings taken from the catalogue of a Chinese library. But this enumeration gives one no correct idea of the character of these works. The history is chiefly that of China, with some references to Arabia, India, and Russia. The biography is that of eminent men and women of that country, and of genii. The ethics are those of the ancient sages, of whom Confucius is the chief. The natural history consists of the popular names of

plants and animals, with the habits and uses of the same, and all arranged without any scientific system. The geography, until 1840,\* was that of China and its dependencies. The works on medicine tell us of the wonderful facility with which the Chinese faculty come to the diagnosis of a disease by solemnly feeling the pulse at the wrist, in six different places, or at the upper, lower, or middle joint of this or that finger, upon the right or left hand; and prescribe, it may be, dog's flesh for this, or cat's flesh for that ailment; recommend tiger's bones for the weakly, or describe the amazing curative properties of the slightly tonic weed called *ginseng*. The works of fiction are full of such details as we might expect from the corrupt state of society in all pagan lands.

"The stubborn belief of the Chinese in the authenticity of the records of antiquity," says Mr. Thom, late British Consul at Ningpo, "has given a peculiar character to the whole literature of the country. It has taught all modern writers to quote the assertions of their predecessors as axioms, and to avoid the trouble either of thinking upon a subject, or of reasoning about the justness of a remark. The ancient authors, in imitation of Confucius, boldly assumed the high ground of dictation, and seem to have written whatever came into their minds. If any one will take the trouble to look into the celebrated writings of their *Shih Tsz'*, or ten philosophers, (Greece had only seven,) he will soon convince himself that these men put sound sense and logic at defiance, mix fable and truth, take direct nonsense and practical wisdom in the same breath, and leave the reader to doubt, whether, when writing, they had been sober or not. Even Confucius, much admired as he is, and justly too, is not altogether free from this fault." To these remarks it may be added, that the views of Chinese authors, like their personal observation, have scarcely extended beyond

\* In 1840, the celebrated Commissioner Lin procured a copy of Murray's *Cyclopedia* from the writer, and employed his private secretary, a Chinese youth who had learnt English from an American missionary, to translate portions of it into Chinese. After Lin's banishment to Ele, he published these translations in two volumes octavo.

Since then, and within a year past, a Lieutenant Governor of Fokien province has published an original work on the geography of foreign, particularly European and American countries. See *Missionary Herald*, vol. xvi. p. 217.



the bounds of their own country; and whatever may be the theme on which they discourse, their opinions and reasonings are circumscribed by the same limits, as well as still more contracted from the nature of the language in which they write. Beside certain books published by some of the early Jesuit missionaries, and a few by Protestant missionaries, it may be questioned whether the Chinese have any books that would be considered scientific in the West, or that treat of subjects in a philosophical way.

The Chinese being shut up within their own borders, and having been furnished with, or having invented for themselves, a most awkward and impracticable system of writing, the consequence is that the spirit of inquiry has been repressed, thought confined to a prescribed course, and the people, like their language, have long ago reached the highest point of improvement to which the elements of their civilization could carry them. In some of the arts, they have long excelled. Their porcelain and silks, their lacquered and carved work, together with other articles of their cultivation or manufacture, still find a ready market in Christendom. Allusions to the polarity of the needle are met with in accounts of the traditional period of their history, B. C. 2600. A more credible account of the discovery refers it to the year B. C. 1114. There is sufficient evidence that they possessed this knowledge earlier than the people of Europe. Mention is made of gunpowder in a work written in the fourth century, and the art of printing was known nine hundred years ago. All these facts are so many proofs of the natural superiority of the Chinese to the other Eastern Asiatics. They argue a higher degree of mental activity, industry and skill. Indeed, when we consider the difficulties with which they ~~have~~ had to contend, these facts show that the nation is not destitute of those intellectual qualities which, under proper direction, would render them truly great and powerful. When a people under these circumstances, so fitted to prevent their progress, has notwithstanding advanced so much farther than its neighbors in civilization, wealth, and power, we may be sure that it possesses the material of excellence in no small measure. China therefore presents a sphere for philanthropic labor that is full of hope as well as of destitution.

But the very errors of the human mind form an important part of its history. We must not fail, therefore, to notice the different religious or philosophical persuasions between which the vast population of China has been divided.

It has been a very general opinion, at least in modern times, that the whole human race was once in a state of savage rudeness; and that the progress of every nation has been from a beginning in primeval barbarism. But if we may place any reliance upon traditionary and monumental evidence, it was not so with the Egyptians, the Hindus, the Toltecs, the Peruvians, and the Chinese. Of the last it may be said, that according to their own tradition, far back in unexplored antiquity, their princes were almost divine, and the social and moral character of the people proportionally elevated. But long ages of decline have rolled away since that period, and the progress of corruption and degeneracy has kept pace with them. Following the same guide, we may safely affirm that the nation in its infancy was in a better religious condition than at present. The notion of a Supreme Being glimmers dimly through the doctrines of their ancient sages; an appeal to *Shang-ti*, or the Supreme Ruler, was often made by individuals in distress; and the word *t'ien*, or heaven, is frequently used to express more than the azure firmament. From these and similar allusions to an intelligent overruling power, we may regard it as certain, that in the earliest times there was some knowledge of the true God among them. And why may they not have received it from their post-diluvian ancestors, among whom God was known by the catastrophe with which he had visited the earth? But whatever light they may have had, it was soon obscured and lost, amidst the growing superstitions of the people. It was not long before an indigenous idolatry sprang up and flourished there, which prevailed without any admixture from abroad till after the Christian era. Previous to that, however, Confucius, Láu-tsz', and Mencius had lived and died, bequeathing their legacies of philosophy and religion to posterity.

It was not till about thirty-three years after our Lord's crucifixion, that the Chinese engrafted any foreign religious system upon their native superstitions, or received any into competition with them. In the year of our Lord 65, or 66,

Buddhism first entered the country. The emperor Ming-ti is said to have been admonished in a dream, that "*a Holy One was to be found in the West,*" or, as the Chinese words might perhaps be better rendered, "*they of the West have sages,*" or "*the Occidentals have a sage.*" This dream is reported to have so much interested the monarch, that he sent a deputation westward, to search for the extraordinary personage thus denoted. The imperial envoys met the priests of Buddha in Hindustan, or Ceylon, who announced an incarnate god, put an end to the search for the Holy One of the West, and returned with the ambassadors to China. If this account be correct, the event took place so soon after the foundation of Christianity was laid by the death of Christ, that it naturally suggests the inquiry, whether some rumor of the Messiah's advent had not travelled eastward from Judea, across Central Asia, until it reached the ears of the Chinese monarch. We have no means of deciding the question. But whatever may have been the occasion of this extraordinary mission, the result of it was that Buddhism sent its missionaries, under an imperial escort, into the country; which was destined to become the high place of its power and prevalence. Although it met with opposition, at first, from the Confucianists, who had already become the leading sect in the country, yet it maintained its ground to some extent; and in A. D. 310, an Indian priest who travelled into China, and gained the favor of one of the petty princes there, succeeded in propagating his religion, by means of pretended signs and miracles, beyond all precedent. Buddhism has been strongly opposed from time to time, by the adherents of other systems, but has never been expelled from the country. On the contrary, it has taken deep root, until at the present day, the empire is full of its temples, and swarms with its priests.

We shall not attempt any thing more than the merest summary of the leading dogmas and practices inculcated by the Buddhists. Any thing farther would be foreign to our present purpose.

Their priests profess to renounce all family connections, take a vow of celibacy, abstain from animal food, (at least in public,) and subsist on the voluntary contributions of the people, whether occasional, or in the form of endowments given to their temples, much in the manner of Romish friars.

As to the gods they worship, time would fail us to enumerate them, even if we knew them all. Accommodating their system to every existing superstition, they open the door to all sorts of converts, who may retain as many of their old persuasions as they please, provided they sacrifice to the gods, and bring offerings to the priests. On this account, and because reason, and not imagination, is the predominant mental characteristic of the Chinese, Buddhism has probably undergone extensive modifications, in consequence of being transported from India into China. It has not only received into its Pantheon new objects of worship, and left behind some of its original ones, but as to its rites and ceremonies it is a more decent religion than in the land of its birth. Chinese good sense has lopped off some of its most disgusting absurdities. A Singalese procession would put to the blush the Chinese sense of propriety.

It is not probable that the priests of Buddha understand their own religious faith much more than they do their prayers, for they are generally ignorant, and some of them are outlaws who have fled to the priesthood for fear lest justice should overtake them, and all of them pray in the Pali language. Their liturgy is written in the same unknown language, though not in the Pali character, but in the Chinese. Great merit is attached to the repetition of the name of Buddha. The Indian name Amita Buddha, as pronounced by them, is *O-mi-to-fut*; this repeated over and over again, constitutes a large part of their devotional exercises, while they keep a tally with their heads. Their most important canon of worship is, "Let not the rosary leave your hands, nor O-mi-to-fut depart from your lips."

In short, Buddha is a mysterious *nothing*. Hence the standard of perfection is a sublimation of existence above all qualities. Creation was a casualty, not designed by the Deity. Matter happened to emanate from nothing, and after passing through cycle after cycle of successive changes, will finally happen back again into nonentity. The soul of man, likewise, which originated from nothing by a mere accident, will transmigrate from one body to another, more or less elevated in the scale of being, according to its merits, and will ultimately be absorbed into the great Buddha. The highest heaven of the Buddhist's expectation is, not annihilation, but something so very like it, that it is scarcely

distinguishable from it. Perhaps it ought to be added, that according to the same creed, a woman can never enter heaven. She is taught that she is a woman because of sins in some former state of existence, and that she is now paying the penalty of that wickedness. She must, therefore, abandon all hope of heaven, until she shall have laid up in store merit sufficient to entitle her to another probation, in a different body from that which is now the tenement of her soul. It will be perceived that there is in all this no bond of obligation between man and his Maker, for he has no Creator.

Such is Buddhism, which, having in China engrafted upon itself many features of the indigenous idolatry, has together with Confucianism and Táuism pervaded the mass of the people. Mohammedanism exists in the country, but to so limited an extent, that it need not be more than mentioned.

The Burmese and Singalese assert that Buddha died in the year B. C. 543, and accordingly commence their era at that date. If the fact is so, the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ were remarkable for the leading minds to which they gave birth. Pythagoras, Plato, Buddha, and Confucius, all appeared on the stage of the world at nearly the same time. Greece, India, and China, each had its master spirit, who was to exercise a paramount influence over his own country, and to some extent over the world.

Confucius, or Kung-fú-tsz', as he is called by the Chinese, was born B. C. 550, in the Lú country, or what is now the province of Shantung. From a child, he is said to have been remarkably grave and sedate, mingling little in the sports of youth. His father being the chief minister of his native state, the son devoted himself exclusively to the study of moral and political science. He neither investigated the subjects of natural science, nor troubled himself about the superstitions of his countrymen. His doctrines therefore constitute rather a system of ethics and politics, blended together as mutual supports, than any particular religious creed. It was his chief aim to correct the vices that had crept into the state, and to restore the influence of those maxims that had been handed down from the early monarchs celebrated in Chinese history. He seems to have been an honest reformer, anxious only to propagate his princi-

ples of social order and virtue, without any ambitious views whatever. He had been promoted to a post in the government; but when he found that his counsels were not heeded, he abandoned it, and travelled through the country, devoting himself to the instruction of all who would receive him. Owing to the degeneracy of the princes of the times, he was far more successful among the people than in his labors at court. In process of time, he is said to have numbered three thousand disciples, of whom seventy-two became particularly distinguished. He was again called to fill high offices in the state, but finally retired to the company of his pupils, to study, and to compose, or compile, those celebrated works which have given him fame among posterity, and have become the sacred books of China.

The followers of Confucius have always been a numerous body, and have exerted a commanding influence in the state, though at times they have been strongly opposed by the Táuists or sectaries of Táu, Táu being the name by which the doctrines of Láu-tsz' are designated. Buddhism likewise has been the frequent antagonist of Confucianism. The disciples of Láu-tsz' and Buddha have been repeatedly admitted to an equal footing with the Confucianists at court, and in the functions of the government. But a review of the history of China shows plainly that, on the whole, Confucius has commanded the leading influence in the state, and that if we would discover the secret of the unique character of that people, we must look for it mainly in his teachings.

Some of the moral doctrines of this eastern sage have obtained the universal assent of mankind, and as rules of conduct of merely human origin, are unsurpassed in excellence. He taught almost the golden rule of our Saviour. We say almost, for Confucius goes no farther than to teach men not to do to others what they would not have others do to them. He also bade men guard their secret thoughts, as the springs of action. There is, however, much to condemn in his scheme of morals, as in every other which is merely human. He overstrains the duty of filial piety to such an absurd and mischievous extent as to enjoin it upon a son not to live under the same heavens with the slayer of his father. He also binds the son to his father, not only while the latter lives, but after he is dead, by making it the most

sacred duty of the son to worship annually, at the tombs of his ancestors, the spirits of the dead. This pushing to an extreme the paternal claim has been the favorite device of Chinese statesmen and rulers, ever since the time of Confucius, for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the emperor, whom the people have been taught to regard as their common father. The teachings of Confucius on this point have for ages formed the basis of their political system; and herein lies one great secret of the preservation of the Chinese empire. The sage gives to the father almost unlimited power and authority over the child, making unqualified obedience to all his commands the first duty to be inculcated upon the youthful mind, and limiting this subjection only by the life-time of the parent. So long as the father survives, a man cannot become of age in China. This is the theory, and so far as circumstances will allow, the aspect of things corresponds to it. But family government is the type of the imperial, and as thus maintained is well calculated to strengthen despotism. By thus granting to fathers absolute power over their children, the sagacious monarchs of China keep up in every family of the empire, at once an illustration and a sanction of their despotic claims. The ritual and penal codes maintain a constant parallel between the duties one owes to his parents and those he owes to the emperor. For like offenses against either, he suffers like penalties; at the death of either, he mourns and goes unshaven the same length of time; and both have nearly the same powers over his person. These things, it is true, do not indicate much personal liberty in the subject; but if obedience and order be the objects in view, the rulers of China have shown some knowledge of human nature, and proved that they know how to adapt means to an end.

It is not surprising that the empire should have undergone numerous revolutions; but it is singular that, through them all, the form of government has never been changed. Tyrants have been dethroned, but monarchy has never been discarded. It was never more true of any nation, that the condition of the family is the index of the state of society. This is the corner-stone of the system of Confucius, and by it he has shaped the destinies of the nation down to this day.

There have been twenty-six lines of monarchs in possession of the empire, and the whole number of sovereigns has been two-hundred and forty-four. In the year 1276, the Western or Mongol Tartars, under Koblai Khan, took the throne, and held it for eighty-eight years. In 1644, the Mantshus, the present rulers, took the reins of government into their hands. But though both the Mongols and Mantshus were Buddhists, they did not attempt to displace Confucius from his high position as the great teacher of the nation. On the contrary, they amalgamated his tenets with their own, and thus did homage to the Chinese sage. The reason is obvious. The maxims of Confucius are at once venerable for their antiquity, and admirably suited to consolidate the power of an autocrat. With them as premises, oriental logic, which does not stumble at an overstrained inference, can easily establish any conclusions that will suit its purposes. Hence no dynasty has found any difficulty in showing that the sceptre was placed in its hands by a decree of heaven. Proceeding thence, the sovereigns have called the people their children, and depicted their emotions towards them in patriarchal colors. The people, likewise, deceived by their appeals to the dogmas of Confucius, have called each emperor the Son of heaven, and the Ten-Thousand Years. He pays his adoration to heaven, and the people worship him.

But the master-stroke of Chinese policy is the system of popular education. We propose therefore to give a somewhat extended sketch of this. To omit it would be to leave out of view the most important element in the formation and perpetuation of the national character.

Paganism, in organized and powerful governments, is every whit as busy as Christianity in training its votaries. China could boast the existence of a system of common schools, overspreading the country, prior to the Christian era. So far was she in advance of all other countries in this respect, in that age of the world. In education, too, as in almost every thing else that is Chinese, we discover a remarkable uniformity and perpetuity of modes and results; for, again, it is as a teacher that Confucius is enshrined and deified. Every city, town and village of the empire, has its school or schools. There are few, if any, communities so poor that the schoolmaster does not find employment in



them. The reason is that learning, such as it is, is the road to office and preferment. Every father will therefore desire that at least one of his sons should be educated. If the young man is successful in passing the literary examinations, not only is he personally benefited by the honor and promotion that he gains, but his father and family share his reputation. To all alike, the rich and the poor, this way to eminence is open, none but the priest, the slave, and the play-actor, being excluded from the competition for literary honors. From the provinces, many a barber goes up, every three years, to the literary examinations for degrees, at the imperial or provincial capital, whom his poverty compels to practice his profession by the way, making the shears and razor defray the expenses of his journey. Nor is he the less respected for that. The government offers such a bounty on learning that ignorance is a greater disgrace than poverty. Education is held in such high esteem among the Chinese as might well provoke the imitation of other nations. The system works well in this respect; and were the means and results of education equally admirable, it need not be disturbed. Names, however, sometimes change their significations as they are used in different latitudes and longitudes. Let us, then, see what education means in China.

In the first place, the school-books of that country are the same throughout the empire. They have not been changed for two thousand years. They are the writings of Confucius and his disciples, who lived before the Christian era. Commentators have labored to elucidate the text of these books; but though men of more modern times than their authors, and displaying much ingenuity and learning, they have never been able to adapt them to the use of the young. Their style is antique, concise, elliptical, and obscure in the extreme. The subjects of which they treat, are the politico-moral principles which Confucius and his proselytes made the themes of their discourse to princes and statesmen; and they contain the poetry of times beyond the reach of written history.

The first book put into the hands of a child in China, at the age of six or eight years, is the *San-tsz'-king*, or Trimeritrical Classic, a poetical work in which each verse consists of three words, or monosyllables. The very structure of it,

although it was made for a horn-book, were enough to condemn it, according to our notions. Though it were prose, it could not but be unintelligible to a child, every or nearly every sentence being composed of but three words. But let us observe the tenor of a few verses at the beginning of the book, and we may the better judge of its fitness, as a means of instruction, to the end proposed. It runs thus: "Man's nature at his birth is virtuous. All are alike in this respect, but subsequent action makes the differences among men; for if one be not instructed, his original nature becomes corrupted, etc." The author then proceeds to state that respect for superiors is the first thing to be inculcated in education; and to illustrate this, he takes examples from the annals of olden times; such as that of master Yung, who, when only four years old, had the politeness to wait till his seniors in the family had helped themselves out of a basket of pears, and then quietly took his own and ate it; and another of a stripling eight years of age, who understood his filial duty so well, that he was in the habit of warming his aged father's bed by first lying in it himself; and so on, while all is clothed in the poetic style, every verse necessarily consisting of three monosyllables and no more. This is the primer of China, the most elementary book in the country. Of course the pupil, while committing it to memory, never understands it. In fact he is not expected to do so, until he has learned by rote a good many other equally unintelligible books. All that is required of him now is, that he learn to call the written characters by the right names.

When he can repeat this book through and through, though he comprehends not a fraction of its meaning, the learner passes on to what are called the *Sz'u-king*, or Four Books, wherein are set forth the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, in terms antiquated and sometimes obsolete, and rather harder to be understood than those of the first-mentioned book. These, too, the lad cannot comprehend for years after he has taken them in hand. He passes over the volumes, gathering up the mere concatenation of sounds which his teacher has told him to attach to the signs he is reading, and thus he learns the Four Books.

In the conversations of Mencius, the boy would find some really fine specimens of acute reasoning, and strong com-

mon sense, if he could master the style, and grapple with the subjects. But the argumentations of Mencius would not be fit for a child's study, even if they were clothed in plainer language. This book, therefore, is but little, if at all, understood till long after the pupil has learned it all by heart.

Shall he take up what are called the *Wú-king*, or Five Classics? Give him the Book of Odes, rehearsed or sung by the people in the earliest times, and expurgated and compiled by Confucius. A more unintelligible set of poems could not be found, for they are not only of very ancient date, but obscure beyond any thing of the kind. Having, however, committed these to memory like the other books, he must next proceed to the *Shu-king*, a book of historical annals, also the work of Confucius, relating to earlier times than any other book extant, except perhaps the Pentateuch. Here he would need all the aid which a critical knowledge of the language could give him, and some science besides, in order to arrive at the meaning; but he must skim over all this historical lore, chiefly interesting for its antiquity, drinking only the froth of words, without tasting their import.

Shall he have the *Yih-king*, or Book of Changes, next? No man, it is presumed, ever yet comprehended the meaning of it, except the author, which indeed renders it doubtful whether this be not conceding too much even to him. The Chinese themselves, while they reverentially retain it among their standard school-books, generally give it up, and pass on to another. So far as we can discover, it is a book purporting to unravel all the mysteries of nature and the decrees of fate by the simplest means in the world, namely, by the arithmetical commutations that can be produced with eight diagrams of straight lines.

After deriving all the benefit he can from this enigmatical work, our Chinese scholar may take up the *Li-ki*, or Record of Rites, that is, the book of ceremonies to be observed, and rules of etiquette to be practiced, in all the relations of life, from those of the monarch to those of the peasant, and from the day of one's birth to the day of one's burial. He will be obliged to treat this volume as he has done all the rest.

Thus furnished, the young student must be favored with the *Tsh'un-tsau*, or the Spring and Autumn Annals, by Confucius, said to be so called because he composed it between the spring and autumn of the same year. It is a historical work relative to his own times and the two hundred years preceding. A dryer morsel could not well be set before one hungering after knowledge. But the young man may console himself with the reflection that this book is the last of the authorized series. If he has read and can repeat *memoriter* all the books which have been enumerated, he is a well schooled man.

Such is the course of instruction to which the youth of China are subjected. These are the means whereby, and this is the mode in which they are educated. The only advance upon what has been described is, that after from four to seven years spent in this way, and in learning to form characters with the pencil, the student goes to another teacher, or to a college, where he is again taken over the same ground, to investigate the meaning of the volumes which he is supposed to have committed to memory, and is taught to write essays and poems upon the themes, and in the style, of the authors to whom he is so much indebted. The utmost that is aimed at in Chinese schools of every grade, is to learn to read and write well. When one has accomplished that, (and it is no slight task,) his education is finished. The schools can carry him no farther.

For the first five or six years, it is a mere parrot-like process. The school-room, which contains from twenty to thirty scholars under one master, is in a constant uproar, except when the pupils are engaged in the practice of penmanship. Each pupil, having read over his task at the dictation of the master, repairs to his own desk, and there reads over the lesson, again and again, at the top of his voice. As all are studying at the same time in the same way, and apparently vieing with each other in the effort to make the loudest noise, the school-room appears to be a scene of profitless confusion. One accustomed to the din needs not to be informed when he is in the neighborhood of a Chinese school-house.

As each pupil commits his task to memory, he goes to the master's desk, and turning his back to him, recites his lesson in the same vociferative manner. Hence, to

repeat *memoriter* is in Chinese phraseology "to back the book."

There is more sense than absurdity in this mode of study, for the character of the school-books is such, that the child cannot cope with either the style or the subjects. He is not, therefore, required to undertake more than he is competent to perform, namely, than to learn the names and tones of the written symbols, until his mind has become somewhat mature. Even this, however, could not be done by reading in silence with the eye, or in a whisper. It requires a loud, distinct, and repeated enunciation of the words, to fix them in the memory. So long as the school-books remain what they are, it would seem that the Chinese have hit upon the only practicable mode of mastering the language, though that mode is for the most part *vox et prae-terea nihil*. Beyond what is contained in the several books before mentioned, there is no art nor science taught in the schools of China, if we except the rudiments of arithmetic, music, archery, and horsemanship, and other military arts, taught in the colleges. Not even geography enters into the Chinese *curriculum*. It is needless to say that the higher mathematics and philosophy are not taught in the schools. The greatest statesman in the imperial cabinet, if he knows any thing whatever of science properly so called, must have obtained his knowledge from some other source. It may be asked, is there not an Astronomical Board at Peking, and an Imperial Observatory? We answer, there is, but the members of that Board are indebted for most of their astronomical science to the labors of the Romish missionaries, who have prepared for them all the scientific works they have. Without this aid, their astronomy would relapse into what was mainly astrology, before the Jesuits provided them with astronomical books. Mathematical works were also prepared by the same missionaries in the Chinese language. But none of these have ever been adopted as school-books. By the order of emperors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the same persons, also, by a net-work of triangulations, determined the latitude and longitude of the cities, towns, and other localities of the empire, and made charts of the country; and yet neither geography nor topography is studied in Chinese schools. The modern maps of China are constructed after the models thus furnished by the Jesuits.

The educational system of China has varied in its details at different epochs, but in its main features it has ever remained the same. In the records of the earliest times we find two sorts of colleges mentioned, the one attached to the residences of the princes, and the other distributed through the districts of the several kingdoms. These institutions extend back to the times of the Hia, Shang, and Tshau dynasties, which commenced respectively in the twenty-fourth, the nineteenth, and the twelfth centuries before Christ. According to the testimony of Mencius, which is supported by the received traditions of all subsequent generations, China had at that early period a complete system of instruction for all classes of the people. Each family had its hall of study; each district, a school; each department, a college; and a higher college existed at each capital. These institutions seem to have served as models to all who have sought to promote public education from that day to this. Every dynasty, native or foreign, has aimed to confirm and perpetuate the power of the system, by training up officers of government in schools where the moral and political maxims of the ancients are assiduously and exclusively inculcated.

Without attempting to trace out the various modifications which the school-system has undergone,\* it will be sufficient to mention the principal features of it, as it now exists, and has existed for more than two hundred years past.

The course of instruction in village-schools has already been spoken of at some length. When we consider the difficulty attending the study of the Chinese language, and the extreme multiplicity of primary schools in the country, it seems surprising that no more of them are supported by the state. At this day, as it was in ancient times, primary instruction is left entirely to the operation of the voluntary principle. Any one may open such a school, and his success will depend entirely upon his skill. The terms of tuition are exceedingly low. In Canton, the fee paid to the master for each pupil would not amount to more than a

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\* This has been done with great care and fidelity, by the late M. Edward Biot, in his *Essai sur l'Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Chine, et de la Corporation des Lettrés*, Paris, 1847, from which I have drawn the material of this part of my paper, relating to the institutions of the present dynasty in China.

dollar *per annum*. In rural districts, it is less. Parents usually pay by the year, and not for a quarter, or month, as it often happens among more civilized people. There is but one primary school maintained by the government, and that is at Peking, for the sons of Tartar soldiers. The schools are open from 8 o'clock A. M. till noon, and from 2 till 6 o'clock P. M., every day in the year, except during six weeks from the New Year, which is a national holiday. After six or eight years of study in the manner before described, the children learn to read and write with sufficient freedom for the purposes of common life. Under the Sung dynasty, from 960 to 1275, arithmetic was taught in schools especially designed for that purpose; and even parts of mensuration were included in the course of study.

At present, both these are rejected from the course of ordinary instruction. The only school in which the study of arithmetic or mathematics, if it is proper so to call them, is pursued, forms a part of the imperial college at Peking. In shops and counting-houses, the *suán-pán*, or abacus, is the instrument by which the Chinese perform their numerical calculations. In respect to common schools, it is not known that the Mantshus have published any general regulations; and so far as this goes, they are inferior to their predecessors of the Ming dynasty.

The civil administration of each province includes a director of instruction, who is chosen by the emperor himself from the *Hán-lín*, or counsellors of the Board of rites. He has the inspection of the colleges founded and supported by the state, at the chief-places of the departments and districts. The students in these colleges are *Siáu-tsái*, or candidates for the second literary degree. The director of public instruction makes the tour of the province once in two years, and examines the applicants for admission to the colleges; and if admitted, they receive the baccalaureate.

They are examined upon ethics, the Chinese language, ancient and modern, reading, the kind of writing required at the public competitions for degrees, calligraphy, the analysis of some extract from the Four Classics, following a prescribed commentary, composition in the ancient and modern style, and the study of rites and vocal music. The *Siáu-tsái* are also bound to present themselves at the same examination, and answer the questions propounded by the

director, to show that they have kept up their studies since they received their degree. Neglect of this formality is punished with loss of rank, and with having one's name erased from the list. The fact is, however, that at the present day, the college-catalogues are filled with the names of absentees; and as every thing depends upon the result of the examination before the director, the college-professors have little, if any thing to do, and frequently they employ substitutes to look after their sinecures.

The Siáu-tsái, who desire to take the second degree, or to become *Kiu-jin*, must first submit to an examination before the above-mentioned officer, to determine their capacity, and can only present themselves for examination in the province where their family has resided for three generations. This preliminary trial determines how many of the Siáu-tsái are judged capable of examination for the second degree. The examinations for this degree take place at the provincial capital once in three years, though extraordinary ones are occasionally authorized by the Emperor. The candidates for the second degree are examined by two commissioners from the court. A multitude of precautions are adopted at these examinations, to prevent frauds on the part of the candidates and examiners. If any one wishes to know what they are, he may ascertain by consulting the first part of Morrison's Dictionary, under the word *Heo*, where they are mentioned in detail. Of the six or seven thousand candidates at Canton, not more than sixty or seventy are successful.

The general examination for the third degree, by which scholars become *Tsin-sz'*, takes place at Peking once in three years. Only those *Kiu-jin* who have received civil appointments, are admitted to it. At the appointed time, they betake themselves from all parts of the empire to Peking, with an official certificate of their standing and post in the government. This certificate is handed to the minister of rites; and if it is satisfactory, they are allowed a certain sum of money towards defraying their expenses in coming to the capital. The allowance is, however, altogether too small. For instance, to those who go from Canton to Peking it is about thirty dollars, for a journey of about twelve hundred miles, and the other expenses attendant upon so great a change of latitude, climate, and style of living.



The general examination at Peking is conducted on the same principles, and attended by the same precautions against frauds, as those held in the provinces, for the first and second degrees. The examiners, however, are of a higher order, and are always some of the Hán-lin. The subjects proposed to the candidates, though included under the same heads, are more difficult to treat than those given out at the provincial examinations, and the style of composition must be more pure and elegant. Du Halde informs us that, in the times of the Ming dynasty, three hundred were admitted to the third degree, or doctorate, at each general examination at the capital.

A fourth examination takes place also at Peking, in the imperial palace, for the aspirants to the rank of Hán-lin. The doctors who present themselves on this occasion, devote themselves wholly to literary studies, and do not hold any office under the government. They are examined by the president or vice-president of the Board of rites, which has the general direction of public instruction. A final examination is undergone for the first or second rank among the Hán-lin; and higher than this no subject of his Imperial Majesty can go.

Such is the scale of examinations, established by authority, whereby the Chinese arrive at rank and office. The Kiu-jin are eligible to civil posts in the provinces. Those who continue their literary career, and obtain the doctor's degree, or become Tsin-sz', are fitted to fill the most important offices in the empire, and if they become Hán-lin, they may receive the highest appointments in the gift of the emperor. Still it does not follow, as a matter of course, that those occupying these grades of literary rank secure places in the administration. They are only thereby pronounced by the minister of rites to be fitted for them. The minister of offices may then exercise his own discretion, or caprice, and give them appointments, or pass them by to serve his favorites. This is a vice in the organization of the court, and has been the cause of much complaint. The minister of rites pronounces a man to be competent or worthy to hold office, but cannot confer the appointment upon him. The minister of offices has the appointing power exclusively in his hands.

The Mantshu emperors endeavor to maintain the military spirit among their subjects; and to this end they have also instituted military examinations corresponding to those for literary degrees, and the successful candidates are admitted to equal rank with the Siáu-tsai, Kiu-jin and Tsin-sz'.

The members of the imperial family are also obliged to submit to an examination before being admitted to administrative charges; but this is a mere formality. Frequently, it is said, the essays are written by some other person than the candidate, and the examination is held almost in secret.

Finally, it appears from some state-papers published in 1829-80, in the Peking Gazette, that there are also regular examinations for the post of translators of the Russian or Mantshu into Chinese, attached to the court. Thus the government seems to have made every possible application of the system of competition and examination.

It remains to speak of certain institutions established at Peking, one of which, the Hân-lin, has been frequently mentioned by name. The Hân-lin, or Forest of Pencils, is sometimes called by Europeans the Imperial Academy of Peking, because it is composed of the most learned doctors, or Tsin-sz'. According to the statute that regulates its action and prescribes its duties, its members "are to prepare divers official documents, and write the history of their own times, as well as other works. Its chiefs and its members must devote themselves to the promotion of education among the various classes of the people, and in fine prepare them to hold office, and render them worthy to be presented to the choice of the sovereign." Probably the most important duty devolving upon this body is the superintendence of the public examinations, and the preparation of the history of the reigning dynasty, which is never published till after its close. These official historiographers must have accumulated, during the last two centuries, a vast amount of material for publication in the Imperial Archives. The education of the members of the imperial family is also incidentally a part of the duty of the Hân-lin. The offices of the Hân-lin are equally divided between the Mantshu and the Chinese race.

Inferior to this, is the Imperial College, the Astronomical College, and the Medical College, which form three scientific and literary establishments immediately dependent upon the court.

The Imperial College has three classes of students, called the *Kung-säng*, *Kien-säng*, and *Hio-säng*, of which the first-mentioned is the highest. There are various ways of obtaining admission into this college, which we have not time to specify. Some obtain their places by imperial favor, some by purchase, and others by right of descent from soldiers who distinguished themselves in the Mantshu conquest in 1644. The *Hio-säng* study in their respective languages, the Mantshu, the Mongol, or the Chinese. The other classes, it appears, confine themselves to Chinese literature. The course of study in this college occupies ten years. There is a sort of mathematical school attached to the Imperial College, which the *Kung-säng* and *Kien-säng* can enter, upon examination.

The Astronomical College dates from the time of the Ming dynasty. Its constitution was materially changed by the Roman Catholic missionaries, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But its functions, after all, relate as much to astrology as to astronomy. It is governed by a high officer called a minister. He has under him two prefects or directors, the one a Mantshu, and the other a Chinese, or even an European; and four assistants, a Mantshu, a Chinese, and two Europeans. They determine the laws of the motion of the stars, and regulate the notation of time among men; and in short, every thing that relates to divination, and to the choice of lucky days, forms a part of their duty. The astronomical theories of the Chinese are composed of the knowledge which they acquired of themselves, mixed up with that which they have received from European missionaries. There are astronomers attached to the Imperial Observatory, and special professors who instruct a certain number of pupils, who are, for the most part, the sons of these astronomers.

The preparation of the Imperial Almanac is considered by the Chinese as an affair of the gravest importance; and it seems to have been that which led to the legal introduction of Europeans into the Astronomical College, because the Mantshus and Chinese very often made mistakes in the calendar.

The Medical College can hardly be called a school, for no regular system of study or instruction is attached to the institution. Several of its members are constantly employed

in the service of the emperor and empress, and the imperial family; and when the emperor hears of the illness of a prince or princess, or of a minister of state, he delegates one of his physicians to visit the personage. Medical knowledge in China is acquired solely by practice, and some considerable attainments in this way suffice to introduce one of the profession into the College at the capital.

We have thus taken a cursory survey of the religion, the processes of instruction, and the educational system, established in China, because it contributes to give an insight into the way in which certain remarkable results have been brought about in the national mind and manners.

Confucianism, Buddhism, Taoism and Mohammedanism, but chiefly the first two, have long warred with each other in that country, until the nation, grown weary of strife, has at last settled down into a religious apathy, in which the Confucianist reposes with a superstitious and haughty atheism, the Buddhist slumbers with unthinking idolatry, the disciple of Lâu-tsz' dozes with his lazy abstractions, and dreams of the water of immortality, and the follower of Mohammed is quite at ease with his devotions to Allah. No bloody rites, no human sacrifices are seen, for the conflict of various systems of religion has neutralized the strongest points of all, and kept the nation from any but the more decent exhibitions of Pagan devotion.

Again, the long continued confinement of the Chinese to the exclusive study of their old classic books, has taught them to regard that which is most ancient as best and most venerable. We stand with our faces toward the future, looking for a golden age to come. They, on the contrary, with their backs turned to ours, are indolently peering away into remote antiquity, and congratulating themselves on what their fathers were. We think the mind of man is destined to achieve greater things than it has hitherto accomplished. They look to the far off past for all their models of the great, the heroic, and the good.

To the same cause may also be ascribed the early maturity of the civilization of China. The mind of man, there, has been so fully occupied with the task assigned it in the educational course, that it has been effectually prevented from overleaping the boundaries by which it has been for ages circumscribed. It has had so much to do in the mere

study of the standard books, and of the language, that if other and new fields of knowledge had been presented to it, it could not have found time to explore them. But such a diversion was never attempted. Every learner has been shut up to the same studies, and to the same method. While, therefore, on our side of the world, we have been rushing forward in eager haste after new discoveries and inventions, and boldly adventuring all manner of experiments, in politics, religion, science, and the arts, until at length we are scarcely surprised at any thing, the Chinese accomplished all that they could of this sort, long ago, and then sat down at rest within their own domain, content with what they were, and doggedly indifferent to every new thing. The very diversities of natural talent, that might, in other circumstances, by the force of genius, have now and then produced an innovator, or reformer, to start the nation on a new career of improvement, have in China been counteracted, because all minds have been cast in the same mould, and it was impossible for any one to be much in advance of his age. To this, more than to any thing else, is to be attributed the anomalous fixedness of every thing in China. Manners, customs, and even opinions, have been almost equally unvarying from age to age. Even the cut of a coat has not changed for two hundred years. Thus, while one half of mankind is more or less pervaded by the elements of change and improvement, the other half is but the mummy of its antiquity. The Chinese of to-day is in all important respects the Mongol of the Christian era.

The whole aim and scope of the government is to make its subjects peaceable machines; and though the state has taken so much pains to educate the people, it is solely with that view. Nor did a government ever succeed more admirably in its design. It imbues the mind of every child with those principles and sentiments which in their development shall make the man look up to the monarch as to his great and adorable father. In childhood, the subject is taught nothing that shall conflict with, but every thing that shall support and strengthen, the claims of the awe-inspiring despot. In manhood, too, he merely learns more fully to comprehend the same political dogmas, and by every appeal to his self-interest and ambition, is encouraged and stimulated to uphold them. It is no wonder, then, that the throne

is firmly supported; nor is that a misnomer by which the highest literary graduates are generally designated, the Disciples of the Son of heaven. They have been in the emperor's school from first to last, and could but come out his tools and sycophants. Such they are, and such they will be, so long as the system of instruction remains what it is.

There is one fruitful source of influences upon a nation's character, to which allusion has scarcely been made in this paper, namely, the condition of females in China. Aristotle never said a truer thing, than when he remarked, that "if women are by barbarians reduced to the level of slaves, it is because barbarians themselves have never risen to the rank of men, that is, of men fit to govern; and nothing is more ruinous to a state than the defective education of women, since, wherever the institutions respecting one half of the community are faulty, the corruption of that half will gradually taint the whole." Women are regarded in China as in other Pagan countries; only with more respect, in proportion as the Chinese are more civilized than other heathen nations. Still there is no provision made for their education, as there is for the other sex. In Canton, and perhaps in some of the other large cities, there are a few schools for girls, taught by women; and now and then, a woman is heard of who is able to read and write. Generally, however, females are looked upon as unfit subjects of instruction in any thing more than household duties. Those who can read and write are therefore the more remarked, while they live; and the memoirs of learned women are found among the biographies of distinguished men. Doubtless they are the more respected on account of their rarity, for women are generally left to grow up in ignorance. From the commencement of her life, woman is comparatively a despised being. When a son is born, it is a day of rejoicing in the family. When a daughter is born, especially if she is not the first, it is an occasion of more lamentation than joy. She is not greeted with smiles and caresses, when she enters the world. If destined to be brought up as a lady, she is subjected to a painful compression of the feet, which makes her a cripple for life, in order to suit the national taste, and notions of female beauty. The "golden water-lilies," as those small feet are called, are essential to the perfection of a Chinese belle. She is betrothed, proba-

bly in infancy, to some unknown partner for life. The relation which involves in it most of human happiness or misery, is contracted in that country, not by the parties most interested, but by their parents, and without consulting the wishes of the betrothed. It is deemed improper for them to see, much more to speak to, each other before marriage. When the bridal day arrives, at the conclusion of the ceremonies of the wedding, the bride and groom seat themselves at a table, and pledge each other in a cup of wine, and go through the formality of tasting the viands set before them, and this is the first and the last time that the husband and wife eat at the same table. Henceforth, she is to serve her lord. In the most respectable families, the women, (for there is no legal limit to the number of wives a man may have,) are confined to a suite of apartments by themselves. Ladies are never seen abroad, but go out in closed sedans, whenever they pay visits to their female acquaintances. Let the imagination fill up the picture of a woman's life in China. It is little, if any, better than the most abject slavery, with its accompaniments of ignorance and degradation. Such is the condition of the mothers of the land. From them each generation derives its first and deepest impressions. This is the soil in which the "roots of society" are planted, and what must be expected from their growth? When old enough to be transplanted from the nursery to the school, we have seen what change is given them. The subsequent training and instruction which the youth of that country receive, produces no other effect than to make them the fac-similes of their fathers.

ARTICLE IX.

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ET-TABARY'S  
CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE ARABS,

(Continued from Volume First,)

AND

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF 'OMAR.

TRANSLATED FROM THE TURKISH,

BY

JOHN P. BROWN,

DRAGOMAN OF THE UNITED STATES LEGATION AT CONSTANTINOPLE.





## CONQUEST OF PERSIA BY THE ARABS,

(Continued from Volume First.\*)

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### *The taking of Tûj in Fârs.*

DURING the first part of the twenty-third year of the Hijrah, news came to the Khalîfeh 'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb, that the king of Tûj was collecting a large force, and waited to meet his army. 'Omar therefore marched twenty thousand troops to the aid of Fârs. Tûj, called in the Persian tongue Tûz, is a town of Fârs, and is situated towards Ahwâz in the kingdom of Fârs.

The armies of Ahwâz and 'Ajem being assembled at Ahwâz, the Khalîfeh sent the other army to join them, but without appointing any one to the command. The leader of each army had the command of a city. The Khalîfeh directed that the whole force of Fârs should be collected in one place, after which arrangements would be made for carrying on the war. "Go," said he, "to Fârs; but go not to the place where the enemy have set themselves down; for they will disperse, and their arrangements will be broken up. Attack every city which you fall in with."

The Khalîfeh now gave the charge of the war to Mujâshi' Ibn Mes'ûd Eth-Thakafy. He also conferred on him the government of Nisâbûr, and its vicinity. He conferred the government of Istakhr on 'Othmân Ibn Abû-l-'Âs Eth-Thakafy; and that of Shîrâz on his brother Hâkim Ibn Abû-l-'Âs, desiring him to reside there. He gave the government of Sebâ and Dârâbjerd to Sâriyeh Ibn Zenfm Ed-Dailamy.

\* The Committee of Publication have received valuable assistance, in the revision of this article, from Professor William W. Turner of New York.

*The army with the above-mentioned commanders, started toward Fârs. They set themselves down at Tûj, with the troops of Medîneh and of Fârs. All the Muslim soldiers did not go at once to Tûj; each commander to whom a city was given, went to his city. At length, all the forces of Tûj dispersed. Mujâshi', however, marched against that place, and took it. Then, leaving a few soldiers there, he made an excursion to Nîsâbûr, taking much booty. This man was the brother of Abû 'Obeid Ibn Mes'ûd, who, on the accession of the Khalîfeh 'Omar to the khalifate, and his call upon the chosen of the Most High to join in a holy war against the infidels, received the command of them, and fell a martyr at the battle of El-Jisr, under the feet of a white elephant. At the time when 'Alâ El-Haḍhramy took the cities of Tûj and Istakhr, he crossed over the sea with his own forces, without the authority of the Khalîfeh—on whom rest the divine complacency!—and the inhabitants of those two cities apostatized from the faith of Islâm.*

When Mujâshi' took Tûj, he divided the riches and booty of the place among his followers. He retained, however, a fifth part of it, and sent it with a missive of conquest to the Prince of the believers.

On the departure of the army of 'Othmân Ibn Abû-l-'Âs for Istakhr, the forces in that place marched out against him. He engaged them, and put them to flight; and approaching the gates of that city, besieged it. He made peace with the city, and took possession of it. He then sent a letter, with a fifth part of the booty, to the Khalîfeh.

Hâkim Ibn Abû-l-'Âs, the brother of 'Othmân, went toward Shîrâz. At the same time, Shahrek left Tûj with many troops, all of whom were men encased in iron; they were clothed in armor to such a degree that their eyes were scarcely visible. Hâkim also had a great many troops, all of whom were experienced in warfare and full of courage, the chosen troops of the Arabs, as well as their greatest champions, such, for instance, as 'Abdallah Ibn Mu'ammâr Et-Temîmy, Shibl Ibn Ma'bed El-Bejely, Jârâd El-'Abd, and Abû Şighrah the father of Mihbal; and they all, at length, gave battle to the troops of Shahrek. When the light of day touched their helmets and their corslets, men's eyes were dazzled with their brightness. This brightness fell upon the Muslims, so that their eyes were blinded.

They fought so stoutly that by noon the troops of the city were defeated; and they used their swords with such effect that they killed an innumerable number of persons. Hâkim, with his own hand, killed Shahrek and his son. There was a person with Shahrek, from 'Ajem, named Azdñân, who came with his own troops to ask quarter of Hâkim; which the latter gave him. When their forces were defeated, an immense amount of treasure fell into the hands of the Muslims; which being divided amongst them, Hâkim sent the news to the Khalifeh by a missive of conquest.

Now when Sâriyeh Ibn Zennîn marched toward Sebâ and Dârâbjerd, his forces entered the fortress of the latter, and occupied it for the space of three months. At length, assistance was asked from the villages in the neighborhood of Shîrâz; and after assembling a large force, the inhabitants marched out of the city, and attacked the Muslim army. The battle was a severe one, and many Muslims fell. It was the time of the prayer of Friday, and the battle took place in a plain; near the Muslims there was a high mountain. The infidels surrounded the Muslims, and made great havoc among them, so that their position was very critical, and they were near being defeated. Sâriyeh—on whom rest the divine complacency!—was fighting with his head bare, when suddenly he heard the voice of the Khalifeh, crying aloud, "O Sâriyeh! the mountain, the mountain!" meaning, O Sâriyeh! turn against the mountain. Thereupon, Sâriyeh cried out to the troops, "O helpers, I have just heard the voice of the Khalifeh; did not you also hear it?" They answered, "We heard it; but this is not the voice of the Khalifeh 'Omar, for there is a great distance between him and us." Sâriyeh replied, "The Most High has caused us to hear it, and pointed out a way for us." Then, on his collecting his soldiers, they placed their backs to the mountain. That evening they found safety; and on the following day they recommenced the battle, and subdued and took the city. The Khalifeh 'Omar at Medîneh had a vision on Friday eve; the troops of Sâriyeh were in his heart, and he was sorrowful, for it was then three months since they had pitched before the gates of the fortress of Dârâbjerd, without his having any news of them. 'Omar saw them in his dreams that night engaged in battle, and he told the vision to his people, at the hour of the prayer of Friday. At the same

time, he ascended the pulpit, and read the *khoṭbeh*. While thus engaged, the Most High removed the veil from his eyes, and he beheld Sâriyeh and his soldiers. The Khalîfeh remained silent, just as a person is silent who beholds an object, and regards it attentively; then reflecting for a moment, he saw Sâriyeh and his troops surrounded by Persian forces, and observed that, had they turned their backs toward the mountain, their position would have been an easy one. So he cried out aloud, "O Sâriyeh! the mountain, the mountain!" and recommenced reciting the *khoṭbeh*. The Most High caused his voice to reach from Medîneh to the place where the Muslims were engaged in battle.

Now when Sâriyeh had ended the fight, he found himself possessed of great riches and booty, which he sent to the Khalîfeh 'Omar. Among these, there was a casket filled with jewels, which he did not touch, but, confiding it to a messenger, sent it with a missive of conquest to the Khalîfeh, for his own use. On the arrival of the messenger, 'Omar was in the mosque, feeding the poor, the strangers, and the travellers. He stopped in front of the Khalîfeh, who, supposing him also to be a stranger in need of food, bade him be seated, and gave him something to eat. The Khalîfeh was accustomed to eat his own meals at home with his family; so that, when the people had been fed, he returned to his dwelling, followed by the bearer of the casket of jewels, whom he bade enter, and the man did so. 'Omar then directed his own meal to be brought before him. The wife of the Khalîfeh was named Omm Kulthûm, the daughter of the Prince of the believers 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib—on whom rest the divine favor and complacency!—She laid before the Khalîfeh a little barley-bread, and a little olive-oil, with a small quantity of honey and salt. The Khalîfeh asked her if she had not cooked something; when she answered, "How can I cook any thing, when I have nothing to wear?" for Omm Kulthûm's clothes were all worn out. The Khalîfeh jokingly asked her, "What have you done with your drawers? are they not sufficient for you who are the daughter of 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib, and the lawful spouse of 'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb?" Then addressing the messenger, he exclaimed, "In God's name! had Omm Kulthûm been satisfied with us, our meal would have been better." So they ate together; and the messenger knew the Khalîfeh, but the latter did

not know him. Then addressing him, he said, "O Prince of the believers, I am a messenger from Sâriyeh, and have brought you a missive of conquest, with a fifth part of the booty." "God be praised!" exclaimed the Khalîfeh; and turning his face toward the man, he asked him for his news. The messenger took out the casket and showed it to the Khalîfeh. The latter commanded him to return with it to Sâriyeh, and to tell him to divide its contents among the Muslims who fought the battle with him; "because," said he, "to them it rightly belongs." The messenger left the Khalîfeh; and when the people of Medîneh inquired of him about the battle, he said to them, "We were engaged with the enemy on Friday, when we heard the voice of the Khalîfeh crying out, 'O Sâriyeh! the mountain, the mountain!'" On comparing times, they found that it was the same day and hour when the Prince of the believers was in the pulpit; and that his words, by the command of the Most High, were conveyed to Sâriyeh.

### *The conquest of Kermân*

In the twenty-second year of the Hijrah, the Muslim forces marched with 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb, and Suheil Ibn 'Ady, against Kermân, and in the twenty-third year made war upon it. The inhabitants of that country were collected together in a numerous body; one tribe residing in the mountains, called in the Persian tongue Kôfêj, and in the Arabic Kautâs, also came down to the city; and the forces were very strong in numbers. Notwithstanding the number of the people of Kermân, the Most High granted victory to the Muslims, and many of the infidels were slain. One district of Kermân was called Jireft, against which 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb sent Suheil. The latter went by the summer road between the cities, collecting all the beasts of burthen which he could find, both horses and mules, until their number became so great that none but Allah knows how many they were,—all of which were taken as booty. He sent a letter to the Khalîfeh 'Omar with a fifth part of the same, giving him an account of his success. He likewise despatched 'Abdallah Ibn Yezîd Ibn Naufal El-Khuzâ'y to Tîskûn, who opened the way from the frontiers of Kôhîstân to those of Tîskûn; from whence he went to the

Prince of the believers, and told him, "I have opened an extent of two provinces (*sanjāk*), even from the frontiers of Kōhistān nearly to Kermān; I therefore ask you to give them to me." The Khalīfeh was desirous of letting him have them; so he wrote on the subject to 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attāb, who replied that they were two large places, and ~~were~~ the entrances to Khorāsān. Whereupon the Khalīfeh ~~gave~~ them to him.

*The conquest of Sijistān.*

This year, (A. H. 23,) the Khalīfeh 'Omar sent 'Amr Ibn El-'Āṣ Et-Temīmy to Sijistān, and sent his own son 'Abdallah with him. He furnished him with a great number of troops. The king of Sijistān also, on his side, assembled a large force, and marched out as far as the frontiers of his country, where he offered battle to the Muslims. He was, however, defeated. The capital of Sijistān was called Zirenk; and it had a very strong castle, in which he took refuge. He closed its gates, and fortified its towers very formidably. The Muslims captured all the towns in its neighborhood, and it was the only place that held out against them. Islām had now extended to the borders of Hindūstān, and Kāndahār. When the king found that all Sijistān had fallen under the power of the Muslims, and that he could no longer maintain his position, he made peace with them, and surrendered the castle of Zirenk.

In the days of the Khalīfeh 'Omar, 'Abdallah Ibn 'Amr and 'Āṣim resided at Zirenk, and they were still there in the times of the Khalīfahs 'Othmān and 'Alī. In the days of Mo'awiyeh, that Khalīfeh sent Ziyād into 'Irāk, and his son Muslim Ibn Ziyād into Sijistān. The latter country borders close on the frontiers of Hindūstān, and the whole of it was conquered during the time of Mo'awiyeh, the inhabitants all submitting to the rule of Muslim Ibn Ziyād, and adopting the faith of Islām.

*The conquest of Mukrān.*

Between Kermān and Sind lies a country called Mukrān. In it are many cities, one of which is named Tīz, and another Khōsh; and all of them belong to Mukrān.

When 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb had conquered Kermân, he sent Hâkim Ibn 'Omar Eth-Tha'leby to Mukrân, together with Shihâb Ibn Muhâriby; and he also despatched after them Suheil Ibn 'Ady. These forces all united on the frontiers of Mukrân. Now the frontiers of Mukrân join those of the king of Sind. The king of Mukrân therefore sent a messenger to the latter, and asked his assistance, saying that an Arab army was coming against him. The king of Sind forthwith assembled a strong force, and went to his aid with many fighting elephants. The Muslims sent word of this to Kermân; on the receipt of which, 'Abdallah appointed a lieutenant in his place, and marched towards Mukrân. The inhabitants of the latter country call their king, in the language of Sind, *Retbîl*, which answers to the Persian *Kesra*.

When 'Abdallah reached the Muslim army, he found also the *Retbîl* with his forces, waiting the arrival of those from Sind; for he had sent persons through all the towns of that country, asking for men to join his army, and each day troops came to him from some of those places. At first, the Muslim troops encamped at some distance from Mukrân; but 'Abdallah Ibn 'Attâb exclaimed against this, as a measure which gave to the enemy time to collect all his people around him. So, at nightfall, he made an attack upon the enemy in the dark, and put a great many to the sword. That night, the infidels were routed; the *Retbîl* lost his head, and his army was pursued by the Muslim forces. The destruction of the infidels continued until morning; many prisoners were taken, with a great number of elephants. The next day, a distribution of the booty was made; and 'Abdallah despatched Şahâr El-'Id with a fifth part of the booty, and a missive of conquest, to the Khalifeh 'Omar. The letter explained at length the way in which the battle had been gained, and with what ease the enemy was routed; and it concluded with asking permission to send a force beyond Mukrân, and to take possession of the country. "Give me leave," said 'Abdallah, "to march to the territory of the king of Sind." At the same time, he asked what he should do with the elephants he had captured.

When the Khalifeh 'Omar read 'Abdallah's letter, he inquired of Şahâr, "What sort of a country is this Muk-



rân?" To which Şahâr made answer, "O Prince of the believers, its plains are like mountains, its water is scanty, its enemies are brave, and its dates are bad; if there are many soldiers in it, they will be half starved, and will lose their courage; and the country beyond it is still worse." The Khalîfeh wrote in reply to 'Abdallah, "Go not beyond Mukrân; for you have no business in the country of Sind. Do not therefore destroy the Muslims; but write to Sind that, if any of its princes need elephants, they may purchase them, and do you divide the proceeds among the Muslims." All of which was done as the Khalîfeh commanded.

*An account of the affair of Beirût.*

Beyond the borders of Baṣrah, there is a place called Beirût. The Khalîfeh 'Omar gave to Abû Mûsa El-Ash'ary all that country which extends from Baṣrah to the confines of Sind. He addressed a letter to Abû Mûsa, in which he advised him to keep a good watch over those parts, lest enemies should come in upon him from Sind, Ammân, and Ahwâz, and elsewhere. Now, whithersoever the Muslims carried their arms, the infidels met with defeat. The latter gathered from Ahwâz and Kermân into Beirût; and Abû Mûsa, on being apprized of the fact, sent Muhâjir Ibn Ziyâd with troops against them. This affair occurred in the twenty-third year of the Hijrah, and in the month of Ramaḍhân. He ordered that if Muhâjir became a martyr, his brother Rebî' Ibn Ziyâd should be appointed commander in his place. Both the brothers went to Beirût together; and it being summer, the weather was extremely warm. Muhâjir was ordered by Abû Mûsa not to require the troops under his command to keep the fast in such places as he visited, lest, if a battle should take place, they should prove feeble when they ought to be strong. As Abû Mûsa commanded, so it was done. Muhâjir became a martyr in the conflict which ensued; and his brother Rebî', seizing the standard, rushed into the fight, and conquered the infidels. Not much booty was taken; for the troops of the enemy were deserters who possessed but few effects of value. Many captives, however, were made; who were all of good families, being the sons of people of rank. Abû Mûsa commanded that the prisoners should ransom themselves; and

for that purpose he permitted them to go to their fathers, and bring the price of their redemption, to be divided among the troops. "This," said he, "will be better than to keep them prisoners." He selected from among the captives sixty for his own service, telling them to send a messenger to their fathers, for money wherewith to redeem themselves. The homes of these captives were distant; some were from Ispahân, and others from Kermân and Mukrân. When the prices set upon them were received, they were delivered to those who brought the money. Then taking out a fifth part of the same, he wrote a letter to the Khalifeh, for the purpose of sending it to him. The rule on such occasions was, that the Khalifeh should present something from the public treasury to the messenger who brought the news; and this rule had been established by the Prophet himself. So, when Abû Mûsa desired to send the messenger with the news of his success, a person of the tribe of the Benû 'Anzeh, named Dhubbah Ibn Muḥsin, arose, and addressing him said, "O prince, I beg you to send me with your messenger, that I also may receive something from the Khalifeh." Abû Mûsa granted his request, and sent him with the letter. There was also a poet, named Khaṭīyeh, who, on reciting an adulatory poem before Abû Mûsa, received one thousand dirhems for it, from the booty.

When the messenger reached Medīneh, Dhubbah El-'Anzy was with him; and on entering the presence of the Khalifeh 'Omar, he complained to him against Abû Mûsa El-Ash-'ary, saying, "O Prince of the believers, it is not right that he should be your agent [for the receipt of the public revenue], since he has retained for himself, contrary to the rights of the Muslims, no less than sixty handsome young slaves from among the captives. Moreover, he gave to the poet Khaṭīyeh a thousand dirhems from the public treasury, for reciting a poem in his praise. He has also two measures with which he measures out provisions, one of which is large, and the other small. And he has two seal-rings, of which he himself keeps one, and the other is in the possession of Ziyâd, to whose charge he has confided all the affairs of the believers, and who writes all the communications; so that this person does whatever he chooses, without Abû Mûsa's knowing any thing about it. Abû Mûsa likewise has a mistress named 'Aḳīleh, of uncom-

mon beauty and elegance, who is a great eater. When you dismissed Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh in favor of Abû Mûsa, whom you appointed governor of Baṣrah, the former sent her to him as a bribe. He gives her every morning a dish full of stewed meat, and another at evening; while there are many persons among us who cannot obtain even a piece of bread."

The Khalîfeh 'Omar, on hearing this, directed the accuser to draw up this statement with his own hand, and give it to him, which El-'Anzy did. The Khalîfeh then wrote to Abû Mûsa, simply requiring his presence at Medîneh. On his arrival there, he was confronted with El-'Anzy, into whose hands were put the accusations drawn up by himself, which he was requested to read aloud.

The first accusation which El-'Anzy read, was to the effect that Abû Mûsa had selected sixty of the slaves for his own service. The Khalîfeh demanding of the accused what he had to reply to it, he said that it was true; that the sixty females were all young persons of noble birth; that as they had said their fathers would pay a high price for their ransom, he had put them aside; and that, having received the money, he had divided it among the Muslims. El-'Anzy asked him why he kept them in his own service. He replied that he did it in order to let the parents know that their children had been reduced to a degrading employment, and thus to move them to pay the more for their release from it. The Khalîfeh 'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb commanded El-'Anzy to continue, and he read, "You gave to the poet Khatiyeh a thousand dirhems belonging to the Muslims, for a poem which he had composed in your praise." To which Abû Mûsa answered, "I gave it to him to stop his tongue; even as the Prophet—on whom be blessings and peace!—gave offerings to the poets for the same purpose, and on one occasion exclaimed to 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib, 'O 'Aly, cut off their tongues from me.'" "But why did you pay this money out of the public treasury?" asked El-'Anzy. Abû Mûsa replied, "I did it to conciliate the poet in favor of Islâm: for after the decease of the Prophet, he apostatized from it; but he is now again a believer. I desired to render

directed El-'Anzy to read on; and he said, "He has two measures, of which one is small and the other large." To which Abû Mûsa replied, "The grain which I take out of the public treasury, is measured with the smaller, and that which I give to the Muslims and to the poor, with the larger one." 'Omar desiring El-'Anzy to continue, the latter read, "He has given his own seal to Ziyâd, and confided all the affairs of the Muslims to his charge." Abû Mûsa answered, "Ziyâd is a wise and prudent, and well-bred man, and a good clerk withal; and as I have never found a man more reliable for the affairs of the Muslims than he, I confided them to him." Again 'Omar bade the accuser read on; and he said, "He has received a slave named 'Aķileh as a bribe from Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh." To which Abû Mûsa replied, "I did not receive her as a bribe. He gave her to me simply in token of good will; as he had no reason to be afraid of me, nor was he at all in need of my assistance. He gave her to me as a present, and thus made friends with me, according to the saying of the Prophet, 'Give gifts to each other, and make friends.'"

The Khalîfeh now said to Abû Mûsa, "Go to Başrah, but send Ziyâd to me." And to El-'Anzy he said, "You have not told me lies, for which I should punish you; neither does what you have said render it necessary for me to dismiss Abû Mûsa. So depart, and be careful that you say nothing to any one against him."

When Abû Mûsa arrived at Başrah, he sent Ziyâd to the Khalîfeh 'Omar, who inquired of him, how many dirhems he received as his salary from Abû Mûsa. To which he answered, "Two thousand." "How often has he made you presents?" continued the Khalîfeh; and he replied, "Twice." On the Khalîfeh inquiring what he did with them, he answered, "As my mother Hamiyeh was in captivity, I purchased her freedom with the first. I had also an uncle who was a prisoner, named 'Obeireh, who had brought me up; he having thus many claims upon me, I redeemed him with the second gift." The Khalîfeh commended what he had done, saying that he had only fulfilled the obligations of duty and the holy law, and thus obeyed the commands of the Prophet. The Khalîfeh also gave him back the ring which he had in the mean time taken from him, and, after approving his entire conduct, sent him again to Abû Mûsa.

*An account of Selimeh Ibn Kais.*

In this year, [A. H. 23,] the Khalifeh 'Omar also sent troops against the Kurds. Many warriors had collected around him, whom it was desirable to send away some where; but for some time there were no enemies near him. News at length came to 'Omar that the Kurds who dwelt on the confines of Ahwâz, between that country and Fârs, were committing robberies on the road; that they had not become Muslims, and would not muster with the troops of the Muslims; and that the soldiers who were in the cities, villages, and country around about, would not engage against them.\*

So the Khalifeh called to him Selimeh Ibn Kais El-Ash-ja'y, and informed him of what he had heard respecting the Kurds, and added, "There are a great number of brave fighting men here from the Arab tribes. Take them, and go forth against these Kurds; compel them to become Muslims, and thus relieve the believers from the troubles which they cause them. When you see the enemy, do not be in a hurry to attack them. First invite them to adopt the faith of Islâm; if they accept it, receive them; but if they refuse it, demand the payment of the tribute; and if they also refuse this, then make war upon them. Should they now ask quarter of you in the name of the judgment of the Most High, do not grant it; for you do not know what is his judgment respecting them. You can, however, grant it to them in the name of the judgment of Islâm; for that you do know. If your arms meet with victory, collect the booty, and impose a capitation-tax on the vanquished. Conceal nothing of the spoils from each other; do not put the women and children to death; and if you kill any, do not mutilate them by cutting off their noses, ears, hands, or feet."

After the Khalifeh had thus delivered his instructions, he sent off Selimeh Ibn Kais with the troops. When Selimeh, who was a very brave man, came upon the Kurds, he invited

\* Col. Taylor, the former Resident of the East-India Company at Bagdad, has lately taken to England a history of the Kurds, called *Turikh-i-Akrâd*, which it is hoped may find a translator.

them to embrace Islâm; and upon their refusal to do so, he demanded the capitation-tax. This they also refused, and so he attacked and routed them, taking much booty; a fifth part of which, with news of the victory, he sent to the Khalîfeh. Among the booty was a casket filled with rubies, which he also gave to his messenger, telling him to present it to the Khalîfeh for himself; "because," added he, "his expenses are very great." When this person arrived at Medîneh, he found the people assembled in the mosque, and the Khalîfeh 'Omar feeding them. In a previous part of this history, it was mentioned that the Khalîfeh every day had a camel killed and boiled with salt, and that from this he fed the poor and the strangers. This food he caused to be set out with bread, in earthen vessels, in the mosque; the people ate it there; and afterwards he would return to his own house, and take his own meal. Now the messenger relates that, at the moment of his arrival, a dish of boiled meat was served in the mosque; and that the Khalîfeh was engaged in distributing the food, followed by his servants, who divided the meat and bread. The Khalîfeh stood in the midst of the people, having in his hand a wand like the crook of a shepherd who watches over his sheep. He examined the contents of each individual's vessel, directing his servants to add more bread, or meat, as the case required. "He directed me," adds the messenger, "to be seated; but I did not eat of the food which he gave to the others, since there was better for me. After the people had eaten, he directed his servant to carry away the vessels and tables; whereupon he left. I remained there until the servant had finished, and then I went along with him to the Khalîfeh's. The casket which I had brought for him, was among my baggage. I entered his dwelling, and found him seated on a coarse cloak, on which was a cushion filled with the fibres of the date-leaf. On observing me, he pushed the cushion toward me; so seating myself upon it, I said, 'I am an envoy from Selimeh Ibn Kais.' He now bade me welcome, adding his salutations to Selimeh; and upon his inquiring after the latter, and the Muslim forces, I informed him of their success, and of the booty they had taken, which gave him much pleasure.

"I now took out," says the messenger, "the casket of jewels, and placed it before him. He asked what jewels they

were; and I informed him, that Selimeh, having found the casket among the booty, did not divide it, but sent it for his acceptance, as his provisions were a great expense to him. The Khalifeh looked at me fixedly, and then at the jewels; and presently he burst into tears. Placing his hands upon his sides, he exclaimed, 'May the Most High not satisfy the belly and the eyes of 'Omar, if what he has already given him of this world's goods be not enough for him!' Then addressing his servant Azfa, who stood near him, he said, 'O Azfa, smite this man on the neck.'"

The messenger adds, "As I was tying up the casket, the man struck me on the neck; and when I had done, the Khalifeh ordered me to carry it back forthwith to Selimeh, and tell him to divide it among the Muslims, who had more right to it than he. 'Hasten,' continued he, 'lest they disperse; and inform Selimeh that I do this as an example to Muslims.' I replied to the Khalifeh, 'O Prince of the believers, you thus hasten my departure, while I have neither camel nor horse; how can I go?' He forthwith bade Azfa to furnish me with two white camels from among those which were given as alms; telling me, at the same time, to mount and depart. He ordered me, on my arrival at the camp, to present the camels to those of the soldiers whom I considered poorer than myself. I did as I was bid, and returned to Selimeh, to whom I gave back the jewels. He sent them to Bagrah, sold them, and distributed the proceeds among the troops."

## DEATH AND CHARACTER OF 'OMAR.

IN the commencement of the twenty-third year of the Hujrah, the Khalîfeh 'Omar went to the Hijâz, and performed the pilgrimage. He took with him the wives of the late Prophet—on whom be blessings and peace!—from Medîneh, paying their expenses out of the public treasury.

It was in the latter part of the year that he returned. Mughairah Ibn Shu'beh had a black slave named Fîrûz, whose surname was Abû Lûlû: this wretch made the Khalîfeh a martyr. Fîrûz was a Christian (*Tursî*), and by trade a carpenter. Mughairah had put an iron collar around his neck, and made him work; and out of the gains of his labor Mughairah reserved daily two pieces of silver. One day, Fîrûz came to the Khalîfeh, who was seated among the believers, and addressing him said, "O Prince of the believers, Mughairah has put an iron around my neck, and requires of me two pieces of silver every day, which I am unable to give him." The Khalîfeh inquired of him what he could do; and he answered, "I am a carpenter, a painter, and a blacksmith." The Khalîfeh replied, "Since you know so many things, two pieces of silver are not too much for you to pay. I have also heard you called a miller, and have been told that you can put up a wind-mill." Fîrûz answering in the affirmative, the Khalîfeh said, "Then put up a mill for me." The man replied, "If I live, I will put up one for you that shall rejoice the hearts of all the people of the East and the West." And so saying, he departed.

That same day, the Khalîfeh 'Omar remarked, "That slave has a design upon my life." On the day following, Ka'ab el-Ahbâr went to the Khalîfeh, and exclaimed, "O Prince of the believers, make your will; for you will die in three days." 'Omar asked him how he knew it, saying, "Did



you see my name in the Taurah,\* and learn it from that?" He answered, "I did not find your name; but I found a description of you, together with a description of the blessed Prophet; and as you are his successor, I found the number of years of your khalifate." Then adding that only three days of that period remained, he departed. Now the Khalîfeh did not feel in the least indisposed; and he was surprised at the words of Ka'ab el-Ahbâr. This occurred in the twenty-third year of the Hijrah, and in the month of Dhû-l-Hijjah. When the Khalîfeh 'Omar returned from the Hijâz, four days only of Dhû-l-Hijjah remained. At the hour of the morning-prayer he left his house, and came to the mosque, where all the companions of the Prophét—on whom be peace!—stood in files. Fîrûz stood in the front file, holding in his hand an Ethiopian knife resembling a two-edged *kama*,† and just as the Prince of the believers passed in front of the file, he stabbed him with the knife six times, right and left, on the shoulders. He also struck him one blow under the navel; and it was this wound which proved fatal.

As soon as Fîrûz had stabbed the Khalîfeh, he fled from among the people. The Khalîfeh fell down, exclaiming, "Is 'Abd Er-Rahmân here?" This person coming forward, he bade him act as Imâm, and thus enable the people to perform their morning-prayer. He was then conveyed to his house. After 'Abd Er-Rahmân had assisted at the prayer for pardon, he returned to the Khalîfeh, who said to him, "'Abd Er-Rahmân, I place the affairs of the Muslims in your hands; do not say that you will not accept the charge." 'Abd Er-Rahmân replied, "O Prince of the believers, I have something to ask of you; if you tell me this, I will accept it." "Speak," answered the Khalîfeh; "let me know your request." 'Abd Er-Rahmân continued, "Do you deem it proper, that in assuming this charge I should take counsel on the subject with the Muslims?" The Khalîfeh answered, "No." "How then can I accept?" The Khalîfeh replied, "Be silent; speak of it to no one except to those persons with whom I know that the Prophet, at his decease, parted in entire satisfaction. Call them together; I leave this matter to them, and let them entrust the charge to whomsoever they may agree upon."

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\* The Pentateuch.

† A Circassian dagger

So five individuals were called in; these were 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib, 'Othmân Ibn 'Affân, Zubeir Ibn El-'Auwâm, Sa'ad Ibn Abû Wakkâs, and Talha. All these were sent for; and all came except Talha, who, having gone to a village, could not be found. 'Omar said to them, "When the blessed Prophet left this world, he departed satisfied with you all; now let not the affairs of the believers be neglected by you. When I am dead, call also Talha to you; then sit ye all five down, and for five days take counsel among yourselves respecting the choice of a Khalîfah. When he has been appointed, let all the rest be submissive to him, and let him lead the people in their prayers. Now, I enjoin upon whomsoever of you accepts this charge, to be just and equitable towards the others; to keep their hearts contented, and to be kind to them; for they are the companions of the Prophet, who, in leaving this world, departed from it wholly satisfied with them. Whoever may be chosen as Khalîfah, I charge that he look well after the Arab people, for they are the strength of the Muslims; and let him study their rights. I also leave as my testament, that whatever people shall come under the obligation of God and the Prophet, they must be required to pay the capitation-tax, and be kept subject to this rule." Then turning his face towards 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib—on whom be peace!—he said, "O 'Aly, should the charge fall upon you, act so that the Benû Hâshim shall not domineer over the believers."\* After which, becoming feeble, he remained silent; he spoke no more, and his eyes closed. A little while after, he again opened them; his son 'Abdallah was then at his side, and addressing him, he asked, "'Abdallah, who was it that stabbed me?" His son replied, "The Christian Abû Lîlû." The dying Khalîfah exclaimed, "God be praised that I have received my death-wound from an infidel like him, and have thus become a martyr!" He then added, "'Abdallah, go to 'Âisheh; tell her that if she gives permission, I should like to be interred by the side of the holy Prophet; but in case she does not grant it, place me in the cemetery of the Muslims." Then feeling weak, his eyes again closed; afterwards, the voices of the people outside coming through the door, he reopened them, and asked what sound it was. On being told that the Mu-

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\* The Benû Hâshim being the tribe to which the Prophet belonged.

hâjirs and the Nâsirs\* asked permission to see him, addressing his son, he exclaimed, "O 'Abdallah, call these people; let them all come in." So each one was admitted in turn; and among the rest, it happened that Ka'ab el-Ahbâr came. When 'Omar beheld him, Ka'ab's prediction respecting his death came to his mind, and he recited the following distichs:

"Ka'ab promised me three days of life,  
And there was no error in what Ka'ab said;  
Nor have I any fear of death,  
Though I fear for the sins that I have committed."

On that day, the Khalîfeh 'Omar expired. There are several versions of the circumstances attending his death. One of these is, that after Lûlû stabbed him, he lived three days; and that when he expired, Şuheib performed the morning-prayer. They said to 'Omar, "O Prince of the believers, let us fetch a physician;" and he having answered, "Do as you please," they brought in one of the Benû Hârith, a man of talent, who called for water, and gave it to 'Omar to drink. On his drinking it, the liquid flowed out of the wound under his navel; milk was next given him, and it also came out; next a thick *potage* was tried, and it likewise flowed out from the same wound: whereupon the physician bade the Khalîfeh make his will, "because," said he, "your worldly affairs have come to an end." To this the Khalîfeh answered that he had already made it.

Another account says that the day on which he expired was Wednesday, and that he was interred the same day. The persons before named then held a council together; three days passed away, and on the fourth, which was the first of Muharram, the beginning of the twenty-fourth year of the Hijrah, they agreed upon 'Othmân, and elected him to be the successor to the khalifate.

Many persons relate that 'Omar was still alive on Wednesday and Thursday, and that he did not expire till Friday. They say that it was at the close of the year, and that on the first Sunday of Muharram he was consigned to the tomb. A council was then held, which continued three days, during which Şuheib performed the morning-prayer. They washed his body, and desired to perform his funeral prayer. 'Oth-

\* The companions of the Prophet's flight, and those who befriended him in Medinah.

mân and 'Aly both came forward; one stood at his head, and the other at his feet, and both bade 'Abd Er-Rahmân Ibn 'Auf take the lead, and say the prayer. But 'Abd Er-Rahmân replied, "Neither will I lead, nor shall you." "Who is then to take the lead?" they asked. He answered, "Suheib, who was bidden to do so by the Khalîfeh 'Omar himself; and him will the people obey." "You have spoken truly," they all replied. So, Suheib being called, he came and performed the prayer, and then they all followed the body to the grave.

The following day was Tuesday, the second day of Muharram, in the twenty-fourth year of the Hijrah. On this day, they inaugurated 'Othmân as the successor of the Prophet. The services continued until the afternoon-prayer, without being ended; so that Suheib performed the prayer of the following morning, and also that of mid-day. It was now finished; and when the Mu'azzin proclaimed the afternoon-prayer, the people assembled before the Khalîfeh 'Othmân.

The genealogy of the deceased Khalîfeh 'Omar is as follows:

'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb Ibn Nufail Ibn 'Abd El-'Ozza Ibn Rayâh Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Karṭ Ibn Razâh Ibn 'Ady Ibn Ka'ab Ibn Luwei. His surname was Abû Hafs. His mother was Hantemeh, daughter of Hâshim Ibn Mughairah Ibn 'Abdallah Ibn 'Amr Ibn Maḥzûm. His honorary name was Fârûk. Some of the people of his tribe state, that he received this name from the blessed Prophet; others, that it was given him by a Jew. Another tradition is that Ka'ab el-Ahbâr said he found the name of Fârûk in the Taurah; and this latter statement has been current among Muslims.

There are also diverse accounts of his personal appearance. One report states that his face was florid and fair; while another asserts that he had a sallow complexion. All agree that he was of tall stature; and that, when he walked among the people, his back and shoulders swayed about so, and he had so vigorous a gait, that one would think he was on horseback. His head was bald on the top; his beard had become blanched, and he was in the habit of coloring it with *hinnâ*. Such had also been the practice of the Khalîfeh Abû Bekr. When the Khalîfeh 'Omar was occupied with any thing, he kept both his hands in motion.

Some say that he was fifty-three years of age, when he died; others, that he was sixty; and others, that he was sixty-three, the age of the Prophet and of Abû Bekr. By some it is said that the period of his khalifate was ten years, five months, and twenty days; and by others, ten years, six months, and four days.

During the whole period of his life, he had seven wives; ~~three~~ of whom he took during his state of ignorance [of the faith]. One of these was Zeineb, daughter of Maz'un Ibn Hâbib; the second, Muleikeh Omm Kulthûm, daughter of Jarûl; the third, Karîneh, daughter of Abû Omeiyeh El-Makhzûmy. On his divorcing the last mentioned wife, 'Abd Er-Rahmân, son of Abû Bekr Eş-Siddîk, married her. When 'Omar became a Muslim, he emigrated to Medîneh, where he took four more wives, one of whom was Omm Hâkîm, daughter of Hârith; the second, Jemîleh, daughter of 'Âsim El-Ansârî; the third, Omm Kulthûm, daughter of 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib—may God bless his countenance! This Omm Kulthûm was the daughter of the revered Fâtîmeh. His fourth wife was the revered 'Âtikeh, daughter of Zeid Ibn 'Amr Ibn Nufeil, who had previously been the wife of 'Abdallah Ibn Abû Bekr Eş-Siddîk, and on being divorced by him, was taken by the Khalîfeh 'Omar. After 'Omar's death, she was married to Zubeir Ibn El-'Auwâm. The last four wives the Khalîfeh 'Omar took after he had embraced Islâm. He had also two concubines; one named Bahîyeh, and the other Fekîheh. He had eight sons. Two of them were named 'Abdallah and 'Obeidallah; the former of whom he had by Zeineb, and the latter by Muleikeh. He had three others, all named 'Abd Er-Rahmân: of these one was called Akbar, or the greater, and was the son of Zeineb; another was called Ausat, or the middle, who was the son of Bahîyeh; and the third was called Asghar, or the less, who was the son of Fekîheh. He had two other sons, both named Zeid: the first, called Zeid Akbar, was a son of the daughter of the revered 'Aly; the second was born of Jemîleh. The name of the remaining son is not recorded. He had also four daughters: viz. Zeineb; Fâtîmeh, daughter of Omm Hâkîm; Rukaiyeh, daughter of Omm Kulthûm; and Zeineb, daughter of Fekîheh.

The Khalîfeh 'Omar had desired to take two more wives; but they refused to go to him. The revered 'Âisheh sent

to urge them, but they still refused. One of them, named Omm Abbân, daughter of 'Otbeh, said, "I will not go to 'Omar: because he goes in laughing at his wives, and never goes abroad, and he always keeps the door of his house fastened." The other was Asmâ, daughter of the late Khalîfeh Abû Bekr. 'Omar consulted with 'Âisheh on the subject of taking Asmâ to wife. 'Âisheh approved of it, saying, "Where can you find a woman like her?" Asmâ, on hearing of this, wept, and said, "That must not happen to me." She was younger than 'Âisheh, and the latter said to her, "O girl, why do you not desire such a person as the Prince of the believers?" To which she replied, "Because he has always a sour countenance, and there is no other food in his house than barley-bread, coarse salt, and camel's flesh, and they always eat camel's meat cooked with salt and water." On hearing this, 'Âisheh was ashamed that the Khalîfeh should be refused; so she called 'Amr Ibn El-'Âs, and relating to him the whole matter, bade him devise some plan for putting the notion out of the Khalîfeh's head, without letting him know that she had any hand in it. 'Amr, having engaged to do this, departed: and going to the Khalîfeh, he said to him, "You have desired to have Asmâ, daughter of the Khalîfeh Abû Bekr, but I do not like it." Upon this, the Khalîfeh inquired, "Do you disapprove of my being her husband, or of her being my wife?" 'Amr Ibn El-'Âs replied, "Neither the one nor the other; but you are a ~~person~~ of great distinction, and you have wives of good breeding and habits, and you make them obey you. Now, this girl has grown up self-willed, in the charge of her sister, and may not be patient towards you. If she should prove disobedient, and you should strike her, she may complain to the people, and they may reproach you for it, saying, 'See how the daughter of Abû Bekr is abused by 'Omar: he shows no regard to her father's memory.' If you desire to have a well bred wife, hasten, there is Omm Kulthûm, daughter of 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib; she has been brought up by 'Aly and Fâtimeh, and has their good breeding and disposition." To this 'Omar replied, "As I have spoken about the matter to 'Âisheh, how shall I act, seeing that she approved of it?" 'Amr Ibn El-'Âs answered, "I will so contrive it that she shall forget the circumstance." So he went to 'Âisheh, and told her what had happened.

The author [Et-Tabary] narrates as follows: After 'Omar's conversion to Islâm, many other persons became Muslims. It is stated that, some forty or forty-five individuals became Muslims before him, and after that took place his conversion. There is also a tradition that the Khalîfeh 'Omar had twenty-one wives.

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It is narrated, that of all people either before or after the Khalîfeh 'Omar, no one had a character like his; nor has any person since followed in his path. It is said of him, that he was known to have remarked, "If a sheep of a shepherd on the banks of the Tigris or the Euphrates were to die, I should fear God might demand of me why I had not protected it, and require its life of me." It is also stated that, during a day of extreme heat, he was seen to put an apron around his waist, and rub tar over the backs of the camels intended for alms. On beholding this, some one remarked to him, "O Prince of the believers, why do you do this with your own hand?" To which the Khalîfeh replied, "Because God has made me the protector of these animals, and may to-morrow demand them of me." "But," said his interrogator, "why do you do it on a day of such excessive heat?" 'Omar answered, "I must suffer this pain, so that the responsibility with which I am charged over all Muslims may be discharged. I know that in this empire there are many feeble persons whose wants never reach the knowledge of the sovereign. I wish to hear what they may have to say, and attend to their wants. If I were able to do so, this would be the happiest year of my life." It is also related of him, that he always sent a set of written instructions to each commander, or governor, whom he appointed, in which he represented that if the officer did not obey his wishes, he would be displeased with him. He would also write to his subjects, and command them to obey the officer in all that the letter of instructions contained, but to pay no attention to any order he might issue not comprised in the instructions.

'Abd Er-Rahmân Ibn 'Auf says, "At night, the Khalîfeh 'Omar would act as watchman. One night, he came to my house, and told me that a caravan had arrived and stopped outside the walls of the city. 'It is weary,' he said, 'and I am sure the people are all asleep. I fear that thieves may steal their goods; come therefore with me, and aid me to

watch over them while they slumber.' So we went forth to the outskirts of the city, and sat down near the caravan, all the merchants of which were fast asleep. The Khalifeh 'Omar remained there until morning, and watched over the people of the caravan without their being aware of it."

Zeid Ibn Aslem relates the following, as having learnt it from his father, who one night asked the Khalifeh 'Omar whether he might go and keep watch with him, and having received his consent, set out in company with him. "We walked about the city of Medîneh until midnight, when we went outside of the walls, where, from a distance, we saw an ass. 'Behold, O Muslim,' exclaimed 'Omar, some one has stopped there; come, let us see who it is.' So we approached the spot, and found a woman accompanied by two or three small children. They were weeping. A vessel stood over a fire; and she was saying to her children, 'Don't cry, but lie down and sleep, until this food is cooked for you,' adding, 'may God take vengeance on 'Omar, who has gone to bed with a full stomach, while I and these little ones sit starving here!' On hearing these words, his eyes filled with tears, and he wept. Then addressing me he exclaimed, 'Be food and drink forbidden to 'Omar, until he has ascertained of what injustice he has been guilty!' So, approaching the woman, he asked her whether he might come near to her, to which she replied he might, in case he came with a good intention. 'Omar therefore drew near, and asked her to tell him all about her circumstances, and what 'Omar had done to her. She answered, 'I have come from my own country, for the purpose of going to the Khalifeh. Late at night, we reached this spot, and my children cannot sleep on account of their excessive hunger.' 'Why,' asked the Khalifeh, 'did you just now pray to God against 'Omar?' 'Because,' replied the woman, 'he sent my husband to the wars against the infidels, where he became a martyr; in consequence of which we are destitute, as you now behold us.' 'Omar asked her what the vessel over the fire was for; to which she answered, 'It is a little water which I have put into it, and placed over the fire, at the same time telling my children, "See, I am preparing food for you to eat;" with the hope that they may go to sleep, and cease weeping.' On hearing this, 'Omar turning to me said, 'O Muslim, let us hasten back to the city.' So we both ran until we reached Medîneh, when we



went at once to a flour-vender, and purchased a sackful; then to a butcher's, to buy meat, but found none: the man, however, told us that he had some fat; so we took some fat for frying. I thought," adds Ibn Aslem, "that the Khalīfeh would now bid me carry these to the woman; but instead of this, he directed me to throw the flour-bag over his shoulder. I exclaimed, 'O prince of the believers, permit me to carry it.' But the Khalīfeh replied, 'O Muslim, if you should carry this bag, who will carry the bag of 'Omar?\*' So I put it on the Khalīfeh's back, and we set out and returned to the woman, to whom we gave the flour and the fat. 'Omar with his own hand cut up the latter, and threw it into the kettle, at the same moment telling the woman to knead a little dough out of the flour. 'To me he said, 'O Muslim, bring some wood;' which I did. In another moment, I beheld the spectacle of the Khalīfeh 'Omar's beard on the ground, while he blew the fire. Thus the dough, with the fat and the water, was cooked, and turned out into an earthen dish. He next awoke the little children, and addressing the woman, bade her eat, and thank God, and put up a good prayer for 'Omar,† 'who,' added he, 'is not uninformed as to your circumstances.'"

Another of the good rules of the Khalīfeh 'Omar related to the prayer called *Terāwih*. In the month of Ramadhān, when the congregation usually performed this prayer, he was in the habit of being the first to do it.

Once, when Aslemy was public treasurer, the people inquired of him, whether the Khalīfeh 'Omar took any thing more out of the treasury than he was entitled to take; and the treasurer replied, "Whenever he has not enough for the subsistence of his family, he takes what is requisite from the treasury; but so soon as he receives his dues and portion, [consisting of a fifth part of the booty taken in warfare,] he always returns the amount which he has withdrawn."

When he performed the morning-prayer, he was accustomed, in making the first genuflexion, according to the law of the blessed Prophet, to recite the long chapter of the *Kurān*, and to stand a good while: while at the second genu-

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\* Meaning, who but himself could bear the load of his sins.

† Orientals put implicit faith in the efficacy of "good prayers" and "evil prayers."

flexion he stood not so long. One day, however, without prolonging either, he hastened through the prayer; and turning to the revered companions of the Prophet, he exclaimed, "Come, let us go and fetch our bride and bridegroom." The companions looked at each other, not understanding what he meant. Now, the Islâm troops sent to Syria, while attacking a strong fortress, had among them two brothers who were remarkably brave and daring, so much so as to be the dread of the infidels. The princes of the latter directed their troops to exert themselves, and get rid of the brothers. So the infidels laid numerous ambuscades, and destroyed many of the believers; and among them, one of the brothers was made a martyr, while the other was captured, and carried before the above mentioned princes. These proved just, and commanded that he should not be put to death, saying it would be ungenerous, and that it would be better to let him depart. "Were he to become a Christian," said they, "he would be a great gain to us." A priest came forward, and said, "I will make a Christian of him." When he was asked how he could accomplish that, he replied, "I have a very handsome daughter, and by her means will effect his conversion." All present approving of the plan, the young man was delivered over to the priest. The latter took him directly to his own house, when he said to his daughter, "Give this youth something to do; and if he attempts to make love to you, tell him that you cannot permit it, unless he will adopt your religion." Then dressing up his daughter, he left her with the youth. The young man, however, did not even look in the girl's face; and one day, as he was perusing the *Kurân* and she was listening, she became enamored of him. So she approached him, and bade him teach her the profession of faith, and at once became a true believer. When her father inquired about her success, she replied, "I have quite enflamed him; but he seems very unhappy: if he could but go abroad a little, his heart would become lighter, and he would embrace our religion. He is so greatly enamored of me, that if you sought to drive him away, he would not go." Now the father owned a farm, and taking these two with him, he went there. It turned out in the end, that the youth took the girl, and fled at once to *Medîneh*. It was on the day of their arrival, that 'Omar

went out with the companions; and as they issued from the city, they beheld two persons mounted on horseback, one a girl and the other a young man. On seeing these, the Khalîfeh exclaimed, "Behold the bride and groom of whom I spoke." He now returned with them to Medîneh, where the couple were married, and lived to have several children.

The traits of character told of the Khalîfeh 'Omar are very numerous, and would require more space than I can here allow. But there is one deserving of especial mention, spoken of by 'Amr Ibn Jâhîz, who says that all writers should commemorate and praise 'Omar's great justice and equity: it is that, while other sovereigns were wont to draw largely on the public treasury, 'Omar ate but little, and dressed in coarse clothes.

During the ten years of his khalifate, some good news came every day from the army engaged in war against the infidels, relative to some conquest or victory. Money and other booty were brought to him, until the world became conquered, and he had subjected all infidels to his sway. All Arabia and Persia were reduced by his arms; and his troops amassed great wealth, and built cities. He gave public audiences, and made royal gifts. His armies marched, on the North, to the river Jîhûn, and Azerbîjân, and the Derbends on the Caspian Sea, and also to those places which are close by the wall of Yâjûj and Mâjûj. On the East, they marched to Sind and Hind; and from Bahrein as far as 'Omân, to Kermân, and even to Mukrân. From Syria even to the confines of Rûm, [the Greek Empire,] the inhabitants were all subject to his rule, and executed his commands. With all this, his immense power did not change his habits or manner of living in the smallest degree; his apparel and food remained the same, and in his mode of speech he did not show the least pride or haughtiness. He never neglected his devotions; and his patience was so great that his dominion daily increased in firmness and strength. Poets composed eulogies on his great character; and as he was about to be laid in his tomb, a voice in the air was heard by all present, saying,

"Alas for the Islâm faith, and those who weep thy death!  
Thy loss is shown in tears, thou didst before thy time.  
From thee the world received good order,—from thee, much benefit;  
And thou art gone before the believers in the holy promises."

ARTICLE X.

NOTES OF A  
TOUR IN MOUNT LEBANON,  
AND TO THE  
EASTERN SIDE OF LAKE HÛLEH,  
IN A LETTER TO A RELATIVE.

BY

HENRY A. DE FOREST, M D.

MISSIONARY OF THE AMERICAN BOARD IN SYRIA.

(Read October 25, 1849.)



# NOTES OF A TOUR IN MOUNT LEBANON,

AND TO THE

## EASTERN SIDE OF LAKE HÛLEH.

'Abeih, June 29, 1849.

YOUR back already aches, doubtless, with the weary march I promised you, over hot plain and lofty hill, on our tour among the crusaders' castles, and other antiquities of this land. But give your girdle a pull, tighten your saddle-girths, put a thicker *keffîyeh* around your hat, and mount. K. is on her prancing pony, Mrs. T. is on the lank, thin-chested, but deep-chested mountain-horse, Mr. T. has mounted kicking *Sa'da*, and I am aloft on *tîbn*-devouring *Muhjûb*. We barely crossed the plain the first day, and at night stopt at Khân el-Ghudîr, two hours from Beirût. The next day, we reached Sidon, and pitched near one of the city gates. The next day, we took the road to Tyre for one hour, and then turned toward the mountains. We entered the hills, in one hour and a half from Sidon, at the Wâdy Zahrâny, or Flowery Valley, in which the stream of that name winds among abundant oleanders. In three hours from Sidon, we reached Khân Mohammed 'Aly; and descending to drink from the fountain, we saw over it, on an inverted stone, the following:

ΧΑΙΡΕ ΦΙΛΩΝΕ \*

There are no ruins at this spot; but five minutes farther on, tombs, wells, and foundations, mark the site of a town. Hence, our road wound around low valleys, wooded with stunted oaks and various shrubby growths. At length we

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\* This inscription may be read, either *χαῖρε Φιλωνίδα*, or, supposing the stone-cutter to have put *ω* for *ο* by mistake, *χαῖρε Φιλώνιας*, the common form on ancient Greek sepulchral monuments.

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emerged, went through the considerable village of Nubatiyeh et-Tahta, or Nubatiyeh the lower, and near Nubatiyeh el-Foka, or Nubatiyeh the upper, past a little mud-pool where cattle were slaking their thirst, and past the small village of Kûrnûn, and up the steep ledge which is crowned with the castle of Belfort of the crusaders, the Kul'at Belâd esh-Shukîf of the Arabs. We slept by the gate, after rummaging the old castle, even to its chapel at the top, a famous old robber's nest, for the surrender of which without a blow the Arab historians are especially grateful and devout; and doubtless much of the precious time and blood of the Arabs would have been expended, had the thick-headed Franks within been less credulous. Its strength, before the introduction of "villainous saltpetre," must have been formidable; and situated as it was above the crossing of the Litâny, it must have been of great service in defending the nice lands between it and the sea from the incursions of the Arabs. The prospect here is one of those extensive Lebanon views which often so strikingly combine the grand and beautiful. Old Mount Hermon, with snowy top, was East of us, and the intervening space was intersected with ridges, on one of which is Merj 'Ayûn (Heb. מֵרְיָאֵן); the castle of Bâniâs (Caesarea Philippi) on its crag was over against us, and dimly seen in the distance; Haurân lay stretched South of Hermon. Just beneath us, crawled the Litâny, like an immensely long, silvered serpent, winding at the base of the lofty precipice on which we were; South and South-West, we saw the hills of Safed, and West, a green, rolling table-land, covered with wheat and barley, and sprinkled with villages, and seeming to end its diminishing undulations at the sea. On the North, we had our own mountain of the Druzes. The main castle had a great number of rooms, packed around the ledge which it crowns. The whole is surrounded with a wide ditch; and numerous large reservoirs, some even now used by the poor people below, showed the care taken to provide the garrison with water. The stable within the outer gates still has its stone mangers for the horses in good repair. A square fort on a crag five minutes South, once added to the defences of the place, and served Jezzar Pasha for a place to plant cannon, with which he battered the walls in the last siege of Kul'at esh-Shukîf. A hill to the North of us was occupied two

years by Lady Esther Stanhope. The historical associations, as well as the views on every side, brought together a strange assemblage of objects. How varied the scenes which had transpired here, between the invasion of the Israelites and this visit of American missionaries!

May 17.—We descended from our perch on Belfort, to Kumûn, a poor village, and thence by a steep path to the bridge over the river Litâny. Thence we ascended to Kuleiat, on the top of the first ridge from the river. Here we saw the lake Hûleh, or the Waters of Merom, and the beautiful meadows about 'Iyon. We turned out of our road to climb up to Merj 'Ayûn, on the second ridge from the river, and thence passed on under Âbil, among hills and valleys formed by the intertangling of cross-spurs of Lebanon and Hermon. Some of these valleys were filled with olive trees, some with wheat and barley, some with bare limestone or chalky rock. We arrived at Khân Hasbeiya in four hours and a half from the castle. After sitting awhile on the branch of the Jordan which flows here, we rode along its edge, diverging to see the bitumen-pits or wells, saw the fountain-head, the farthest source, of the Jordan, and then turned up the vale to Hasbeiya.

May 21.—We left Hasbeiya for Bâniâs, and in three hours and fifty minutes we were at Tell el-Kâdy, or the Hill of the judge, or the Hill of Dan, called also Ledden, which is said to be a corruption of El-Dan. Here is a large fountain, a little smaller than that at the head of the Orontes. It flows out at the base of a knoll, or low hill, of lava. The basin of the fountain we found full of buffaloes, as ugly looking fish as ever bathed. Thence we rode to Bâniâs, in forty minutes. We went to the large fountain which gushes out below a cave, and climbed to the castle, by a clump of trees, still called trees of Hazor. All this I will not enlarge upon, as it is fully described by Mr. Thomson in an early volume of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*,\* which I advise you to see. The modern town is in a strong, but not extensive quadrangle, which was the citadel in ancient times. The old city was on one side of this, and was large.

May 22.—Rode out of the gate of the citadel, under a tower of great strength, crossed a branch of the Jordan on a bridge, and in five minutes passed a small round pool, from

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\* See *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. iii, p. 184, ff.



which the walls of the old city extended down the slope. In forty minutes, we arrived at 'Ain Fît, a small village. Our course hence lay on the western slope of a low hill of volcanic rock, the hill which borders the eastern side of the Hûleh, and this part of the valley of the Jordan. It is covered with low, scattered oaks, and sown in patches which are allowed to rest alternate years. The reason of this is, not that the soil is poor, but that "the lands are wide, and people few." In one hour and twenty minutes from 'Ain Fît, the oaks on our road ceased, except here and there a few; but they extended far to the East, on the plain at the base of Hermon. We had been ascending obliquely and gradually, and now passed the head of Wâdy Barakîyât. Some ruins lie at its mouth, on the plain of the Hûleh. A conical eminence on our road-side, with a heap of stones, is called Burghushch, and another at the head of Wâdy Sûwâry. These are modern sites, and are deserted, as is this whole region, since Ibrahim Pasha's day. It is called Ardh Sûkcik. Our road here commanded a view of the plain and lake of Hûleh, the hills of Safed, the site of Kadesh Naphthali, the castle of Hunîn, the castle of Shukîf, and old Hermon, with his wrinkles of age, and face smoothed with snow. In one hour and forty minutes from 'Ain Fît, we crossed Wâdy Balû'a, a shallow winter water-course, now dry, terminating in a ravine below. Here we entered on a fine and extensive plain, at a considerable elevation above the Hûleh. Sûkcik and Summâk were on our left, about half an hour distant; the former a modern ruin on an old site, the latter having buildings still standing, like those at Bara and in Haurân. Tell el-Aram was about one hour to our left, that is, East of us, a finely rounded summit; and a little more South, was Tell Abû Nedy. The plain we were on is a winter residence of Arabs of the Fadhl tribe, and their cantonments were on every side of us. At the distance of two hours from 'Ain Fît, we began to descend a little, and in a quarter of an hour crossed Wâdy Hunth, a shallow channel now dry, and in another quarter of an hour, a similar channel called Wâdy Ghorâb. Tell Abû Nedy was now about half an hour to the East of us, and Gilboa, Tabor, and the mountains of Moab were in sight; and soon we saw the Sea of Galilee, and the high table-land eastward from it, terminating in a bluff toward the sea. In two hours and forty-five

minutes from 'Ain Fît, we were at 'Ain Râwy, the first fountain we had seen on the plain, which is now wholly untilled for fear of Arabs. In three hours and five minutes, the village of Mughâr was twenty minutes to our left, its land sown in part with maize. In twenty minutes more, we were just above Hafr, a small Moslem village, fifteen minutes to our right. In four hours and twenty-five minutes from 'Ain Fît, we were at Nebu 'Alleikah, and the village of 'Alleikah was five minutes West of us; it is deserted. We crossed a small valley, on the opposite side of which is a tomb, and continued our gentle descent, until, in five hours and forty minutes from 'Ain Fît, we entered the great road from Damascus to Egypt. Turning more to the West, and going down a steep descent for thirty-five minutes, we arrived at the Bridge of Jacob's daughters, over the Jordan. Crossing this stream, we pitched on its western bank.\*

We saw rice growing on the banks of the Jordan, which here has a swift current, and is some fifty or more feet wide. A mound, at the distance of a quarter of a mile down the stream, attracted my attention; and on visiting it I found a long quadrangle on an elevated mound, surrounded by a strong, low wall. It is on the western bank, in a bend of the river, just where its current increases in velocity, as it rushes toward the narrow defile which conducts it to the Sea of Tiberias. The oblong enclosure seemed to measure twenty-five rods by ten rods, and has its entrance toward the South, and two openings in the side parapet-walls. On the river-side, I saw at the base of the parapet some old bevelled stones, as if in place. No columns were to be seen about it, and I know not its history. The natives call it Kusr 'Atra, or the Palace of 'Atra.

May 23.—Left Mr. T. at Jisr Binât Ya'kûb, or the Bridge of Jacob's daughters, and rode along the western bank of the Jordan, taking a northerly course. The stream is sluggish above the bridge. For ten minutes, we rode in a narrow vale, enclosed by banks about one hundred feet high,

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\* The region we went through East of lake Hûleh, had not been visited before. We chose it not from any idea of seeing much, but that we might know just what there is to be seen. The maps of that region are wrong. A party which passed here later in the season, found it dry enough to admit of their travelling by the water's edge, and they say there is not a village, or a ruin, to be found there,—nothing but places of Arab encampment.

and then emerged into a broad plain. The stones in our path were all trap, as yesterday, and the earth was black from the crumbling of the volcanic rock. In fifteen minutes, we crossed a dry channel and Dureijât was about eight minutes distant to our right, on a knoll on the eastern bank, the river being between us. In twenty-eight minutes, we reached the lake Hûleh, the river being five minutes East of us all the way, hugging the base of the eastern hills, ~~while~~ the plain to the West was some two and a half hours wide. A thick growth of reeds obscures the exit of the stream. Our road inclined to the left, and at the distance of forty minutes from the bridge, we reached Tuleil, a low hill with some huts, on the shore of the lake. In one hour from the bridge, we passed a similar hill, with also a few houses near it. These our guide called Mûrûtiyeh, and the hill, Tell Balis. In one hour and ten minutes from the bridge, we were at the south-western angle of the lake; and in eight minutes more, we passed 'Almanîyeh, a small hamlet. We soon arrived at the border of the plain, and passed a brisk mill-stream, with Mellâhah on our right. Our road now lay northward, and at the foot of the hills on the western border of the valley. At the distance of one hour and thirty-five minutes from the bridge, we turned abruptly to the left, into the mountains, and after some very rough climbing, even for these regions, we reached Yûsha', in three hours from the bridge. Yûsha' is the place where, as we were assured by a follower of 'Aly, Joshua, the son of Nun, was slain in battle! His tomb is on the spot, and a small mosque has been erected over it. There is no village here, and nothing but the mosque and its keeper's dwelling. The place is much visited by the Metâwileh; an embroidered cloth covers the tomb, a gift from Egypt. The most extraordinary ornament, to my eye, was a rude picture of an armed horseman leading a horse, a strange object in a Moslem's place of prayer, as he will not even put a face on a coin. The keeper said we were his first Frank visitors.

In three hours and five minutes from the bridge, we reached Kades, or Kadesh Naphthali, a city of refuge of old. It is on a rocky ridge above a beautiful plain. We stopped at a ruined structure a few minutes distant from the village, and below it. It is about thirty-five feet square, and seems once to have been covered with a dome. It has vaults, now

used, as probably of old, for places of sepulture. Numerous large and small sarcophagi are near it, and a ruined temple, with part of its walls and one ornamented door-post standing. It is on a low hill, of which the edges are smoothed and the top levelled. Corinthian capitals and broken columns lie scattered about it. Tombs are cut in the rock on the eastern and northern border of the hill. The mountain-spur on which the modern village stands, has a steep slope on all sides, except where it is attached to the main hill. There, a shallow excavation, natural or artificial, defended it from attack. Its sides have been apparently pared off, and its point rounded, and its top levelled. The whole top was once covered with buildings, and this doubtless was the strong hold. A few capitals and columns of the Corinthian order are scattered through the village, and a large number of hewn stones. Leaving Kadesh we went northward across the fine plain, and reached the base of the hill on its border in twenty-five minutes from Kadesh. A small pool lay some twenty minutes to our right. We now ascended through a winding valley. In fifty minutes from Kadesh, we were at Buleideh, where we saw a small old castle, or tower, with a Roman arch, and near it a considerable mosque for these parts. The latter was built by the grandfather of the present sheikh. There was a single broken column by the roadside. A dome on a hill at some distance North, is called the tomb of Benjamin the son of Jacob. He has a tomb also on the plain of Sharon.

In one hour and twenty-five minutes from Kadesh, we passed through the valley of Mais. A round, artificial pool near the village, the ruins of a considerable mosque, and a large khan were the chief objects about it which we noticed. Descending the hill on the brink of which Mais stands, we crossed a beautiful green field of grain, and entered a shallow, wooded valley, in which we gradually ascended. In two hours and twenty-five minutes from Kadesh, I turned for a quarter of an hour to the right, to examine a ruined village on a conspicuous hill-top. The site was glorious, commanding a view of the Hûleh, and the opposite or eastern mountains. The sources of the Jordan, the broad marshes, the small but beautiful lake,—our road of yesterday,—the fields all green or yellow with crops of grain, old walls and modern houses, all fallen, showed an ancient as

well as a recent site. It is called the Ruins of Meneireh. We arrived at Kul'at Hunîn in three hours and five minutes from Kadesh, and pitched on a plain below the village and castle. Mr. Thomson's article in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, above referred to, calls this place Hazor; and it may be so, but this is not proved. The old castle is quite distinct from the modern, is far more massive, and even the Saracenic work which is on the old foundation, has far more strength. The modern castle was built in the days of Napoleon, by one Sheikh Nasfî, an Arab of this region, who erected it with the consent of Jezzar Pasha. It looks quite peaceful beside its smaller, but more solid predecessor, and is called by the natives a *kusr*, or palace, and was rather a fortified residence than a thorough castle. The modern village adjoins to this *kusr*. The old fort has been rebuilt many times, and but few of the old Phœnician stones are now in place; most of them have been worked up a dozen times in the buildings of successive ages. The castle is on a sharp mountain-ridge, like most of the mountains in this region.

May 24.—Leaving Hunîn, we saw Âbil Beth Ma'akhah in half an hour. It is finely placed on a sharp ridge which rises steeply out of the plain and seems to have been rounded at its ends, and pared off at its sides, to make a wall fit it more nicely, in olden time. Now, it looked peaceful, as it rose from green fields, itself green to the top of its steep sides. We now began to descend a steep hill; and in forty minutes, turned to the left into a green, sloping valley. In one hour and thirty minutes from Hunîn, we reached Kefr Kileh, a small Moslem village on the left of our valley. Climbing through this, and passing along up the valley-side, we reached Hûrah in twenty minutes more, and Deir Memâs in eight minutes more. This is a considerable village of Christians, oddly perched and fastened, one knows not how, on the first descent of a steep hill. Laboring down this obliquely to our right, we regained the valley we had left at Kefr Kileh, in two hours and twenty-five minutes from Hunîn. We ascended a slight hill out of this, and then descended a long, steep hill under Kul'at esh-Shukîf to the bridge over the Lîtâny, which we reached in three hours and twenty-five minutes from Hunîn. The walls of the castle, which seemed so formidable when we were at the gate, now looked like small parapet-work, as we looked up

from beneath at the battlement of lofty precipice on which the Belfort stands. We left the river with many sighs, for its cool stream and the shade of sycamores on its banks were delightful to us in the hot siroccos which blew this day. We began to climb at about noon; and in fifty minutes, were at the top of one of Lebanon's steepest hills. The siroccos scorched us on our way to Nubatiyeh el-Foka, which we reached in one hour and a half from the river. Here we left the Sidon road, and turned to the right. In thirty-five minutes, we reached Kefr Rumân; and in twenty minutes more, we were under the shadow of a great rock by the river Zahrâny, and it was truly a weary land. A steep descent for fifteen minutes to the river, and the sight of a seemingly interminable ascent before us, with a fierce sun burning every thing about us, and a hot sirocco sucking the moisture from lip, and nostril, and eyelid, made us all weary, and glad of our rock, as Jonah was of his gourd. A small flour-mill is at the crossing of the stream, and a few mulberry trees are scattered on the narrow strip of land in the bottom of the valley. Leaving the Flowery River, which here too has oleanders on its banks, we ascended for thirty-eight minutes to Aub Salîm, a Moslem village stowed on a narrow level spot under the conical summits of Jebel Rîhân. It looked quite inviting, from its abundant running water, and fine walnut trees, and extensive prospect. A farther climb of fifty minutes brought us to Jerjû'a, a small village of Christians. Here we pitched for the night. Jerjû'a is nearly at the summit of this mountain-peak, which is cleft from the main portion of Jebel Rîhân by an immense gorge in which the river Zahrâny has its source. A narrow, sweet vale between Jebel Rîhân and Belâd esh-Shukîf allowed us to see the valley of the Lîtâny and the lands beyond. The mists of the sea of Tiberias rose behind, and dimmed the mountains of Moab, which bounded the distant prospect in that direction. Nearer to us, rose Kul'at esh-Shukîf on its lofty precipice, and the mountains of Safed and the large castle of Tîbnîn, the smaller forts of Mârôn and Shem'ân and Surba, of which the last three are quite modern. Then came into view the mountain in which is the Ladder of Tyre, the long tongue on which the modern Tyre is built, the point of Sarepta, Sidon, and the island of Cyprus in the midst of the great, wide sea. This island was distinctly visible at

sun-set, but is seen only at that hour. Immediately before us, lay Belâd esh-Shukîf, its hills like ant-heaps, with one here and there taller than the rest, and a glen, or winding valley, deeper than its fellows, breaking the uniformity of the swell and fall of the surface. All near us was green with growing grain; and the more remote surface, yellow with the ripening crops. At a later season, the view would lose half its glories; but its real magnificence when we saw it, and its historical associations, feasted our eyes and busied our thoughts. From the hill above, Carmel was added to the interesting objects on which the eye rested.

The fountain at the head of the river Zahrâny was once conducted in a Roman (?) aqueduct, which wound around the hill below Jerjû'a, where are the remains of an arch. It thence inclined toward Jeb'a; and below this village a gorge was crossed by a lofty arch, now broken. The aqueduct takes the direction of Sidon, and it is said that it can be traced to the neighborhood of that city, six hours distant from the fountain. Like all aqueducts, this is attributed by tradition to Zubeideh, as all structures on localities of Scripture interest are put to the credit of Helena. They told me that, when asked how she had succeeded in so difficult a work, Zubeideh replied, "Why, I built it with my money, and my men," giving no glory to God; and that soon afterwards, an earthquake destroyed the solid arches, and humbled the pride of the Moslem princess.

*May 25.*—Leaving Jerjû'a, in thirteen minutes we arrived at a small foundation of solid, old workmanship, which the people called the Convent. A similar foundation, but somewhat larger and more solid, is said to be on the summit back of this so-called convent. Lady Stanhope pitched here for two days, when in search of a place to build. Our road was at the base of the extreme top of this part of Jebel Rîhân. In half an hour from Jerjû'a, we passed a solitary house by the road-side. I asked the woman at the door her reason for choosing so lonely a place of abode, a thing so unusual in these insecure regions. The truly oriental reply was, "I was made here, and here I stay." A woman of taste might find additional reason for tarrying, in view of the noble prospect from the house. The village of 'Ain Kana is just beneath her house, and distant some twenty minutes. In fifty-two minutes, we were above the considerable village of

Jeb'a, which lies on a hill tossed in to fill up a rude valley among higher hills. The scenery above Jeb'a is peculiarly wild and interesting, and the mountain, even to the sea, was more broken than below Jerjû'a. Our path here was shaded with low shrub-oaks and other trees, so that for some time, the sun, which blazed so fiercely without, did not touch us. The wooded cone above us, and the green and dark vales below, delighted our eyes. The leaves gave a grateful smell, and coolness seemed to be exhaled from the ground. Partridges ran cackling across our path, and turtle-doves cooed in the thick shade above us. In one hour and forty minutes, we were under Mezra'at er-Rahbân, a hamlet belonging to a neighboring convent, snugly placed in a notch at the very top of the mountain. Here we looked back on the coast to the promontory beyond Tyre, and saw Carmel peeping over its back, and to the North we greeted the familiar face of old Sunnîn, the mountains of Kesrawân, and the *jauzeh* of Mr. C. at B'hamdun. In one hour and fifty-five minutes from Jerjû'a, we were at the head of the valley in which the hill of Jeb'a lies, which unites with others farther South, and with one a hundred yards North, all carrying winter-torrents to the Zahrâny. Hence we descended a long hill to Jezzîn, where we arrived in three hours and thirty minutes from Jerjû'a. From Jezzîn we rode through Bathîr and Hâret el-Jenaitelch, where we encamped; and on the 26th of May we went by 'Ammatûr, Mukhtureh, Simkanîyeh, B'teddin, Deir el-Komr and Kefr Metta, to 'Abeih.





ARTICLE XI.

THE FORMS

OF THE

GREEK SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

BY

PROF. JAMES HADLEY.

(Read October 24, 1849.)



# THE FORMS

OF THE

## GREEK SUBSTANTIVE VERB.

I PROPOSE to occupy the attention of the Society, for a few minutes only, with some account of the substantive verb in Greek—the forms of the verb *εἰμι*, *I am*,—as illustrated by a comparison with the Sanskrit and other cognate languages. The subject affords a remarkable specimen of the advantages resulting to classical philology from the wider Indo-European philology of recent times. Taken by themselves, the forms of the Greek *εἰμι* seem a mass of confused anomalies: it is only when we extend our view to the corresponding forms of kindred languages that we become aware of their essential regularity. We discover then that this verb was originally subject to the general system of verbal inflexion; though from the frequency of its use it has been more than other verbs disguised by the occurrence of euphonic changes. Yet these euphonic changes are such as prevail more or less extensively in the formation of the language; and even while separating the forms of this verb, in appearance at least, from those of other verbs, should hardly be regarded as anomalies. Such forms, though peculiar, are not lawless (anomalous): on the contrary they are fashioned under the operation of laws which have determined the character of the language.

The SUBSTANTIVE VERB of the Indo-European languages has for its base in the Sansk. the syllable *as*, in Gr. and Lat. *es*, in Teut. *is*. This appears most distinctly in the 3d pers. sing. pres. ind., Sansk. *asti*, Gr. *ἐστί*, Lat. *est*, Germ. *ist*, Eng. *is*. We see here a regular vowel-progression from the broad open *a* to the closer *e*, and from this to the short sharp *i*, the closest of all vowel-sounds.

The Sansk. *as* in its inflexion preserves almost everywhere the consonant *s*: the vowel *a* on the other hand is in many of the forms rejected. In both these points the Sanskrit is followed closely by the Latin; which, however, by a special law of euphony, changes the *s* between two vowels into an *r*; as in *eram*, *ero* for *esam*, *eso*. In Greek, on the contrary, the vowel is more persistent than the consonant. The *ε* of the base presents itself in nearly all the forms: only in the subjunctive and the participle does it disappear, and in these not universally. But the *σ*, which in Greek shows itself in many ways as a weak and fluctuating letter, has in this verb vanished altogether from a large proportion of the forms. As an illustration of these remarks we may take the optative, which answers to the present subjunctive in Latin, and the potential in Sanskrit. Here we have in Sansk. *syām* for *asyām* (*a* rejected): old Lat. *siem* for *esiem* (*e* rejected): Gr. *εἴην* for *εσιην* (*σ* rejected, as usual between two vowels).

If now we take up the PRESENT INDICATIVE of the Gr. *εἶμι*, we find the base *εσ* unchanged in the 3d pers. sing. *ἐστί*, the 2d and 3d pers. du. *ἐστόν*, the 1st and 2d pers. plur. *ἐσμέν* (Dor. *ἐσμές*), *ἐστέ*, and probably also in the Epic 2d pers. sing. *ἐσσί*. The 2d pers. sing. in Sanskrit is *asi* for *assi*, one *s* being discarded: to this would correspond in Greek a form like *εσι*; and the language seems in fact to have formed its *εἶ* from an earlier *εσι*, in the same manner as *τύπεις* from a primitive *τυπτεσι*. From *εἶ* has come the common *εἷ* by the breaking down of *σ*. Possibly the Epic *ἐσσί* instead of being = *εσ* + *σι*, may have been made from this supposed *εσι* by the favorite Epic repetition of the consonant. In the 1st pers. plur. (*ἐσμέν*) the Ionic dialect has dropped the *σ*, and lengthened the preceding vowel; whence *εἰμέν* for *ἐσμέν*. A similar change in the 1st pers. sing. has given *εἶμι* for the original but obsolete *ἐσμι*, Sansk. *asmi*. Here all the dialects of Greek concur in giving up the *σ*, but differ as to the mode of compensation; the Aeolic doubling the succeeding liquid, thus *ἐμμει*; the stricter Doric lengthening *ε* to *η*, thus *ἡμι*; while the other dialects have *ει*, thus *εἶμι*. There remains now only the 3d pers. plur. where a comparison of the Sansk. *santi* and the Lat. *sunt* suggests a primitive *εσαντι*, consisting of the base *εσ*, the personal ending *ντι* and a

union-vowel  $\alpha$ . But in Ionic and Attic Greek, the letter  $\tau$  of the ending  $\nu\tau\epsilon$  is everywhere corrupted to a sibilant  $\sigma$ , before which  $\nu$  falls away and is compensated by the prolongation of the preceding vowel. This would change  $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon$  to  $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\iota$ , and by the disappearance of the radical  $\sigma$ , to  $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota$ .  $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota$  is often found in the Ionic dialect: from it, by contraction of the vowels  $\epsilon\alpha$ , comes  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  the prevailing form. In the assumed original form  $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon$ , the  $\alpha$ , as already intimated, is not a significant element, like the base  $\epsilon\sigma$ , and the personal ending  $\nu\tau\epsilon$ : it is a mere euphonic expedient, a necessity of pronunciation, without which the combination of the base and the personal ending would be unpronounceable. This connecting vowel appears under the same form, as  $a$  in the Sansk. *santi*; as  $u$  in the Lat. *sunt*; as  $i$  in the Germ. *sind*. There is reason, however, to believe that the Greeks, at least in some dialects, resorted to a different means for relieving the difficulty presented by the combination  $\epsilon\sigma + \nu\tau\epsilon$ : that, instead of inserting a brief union-vowel, they sometimes sacrificed the  $\sigma$  of the base: this would give  $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$ , the prevailing 3d pers. plur. in the Doric dialect. Indeed the common  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  might be made from  $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$  by the usual change of  $\tau$  to  $\sigma$ , which would involve the omission of the  $\nu$  and the lengthening of  $\epsilon$  to  $\epsilon\iota$ . It seems more probable, however, that  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota$  is made from  $\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon$  through  $\epsilon\alpha\sigma\iota$ , in the manner just described; more especially, as we find even in Doric Greek traces of the use of a connecting vowel. Thus in the form  $\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\epsilon$ , which occurs once in Archimedes, and in  $\epsilon\omega\tau\epsilon$ , which is found twice at least, the  $\sigma$  and  $\omega$  are obviously connecting vowels, which correspond well with the  $u$  of the Lat. *sunt*, and may countenance the belief that the Doric Greek originally, like the Sanskrit, Latin, German, etc., employed a connecting vowel in this place.

We find  $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$  laid down also as a Doric form of the 3d pers. sing. =  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ . Were this form genuine, it would present a veritable anomaly, a capricious deviation from the laws of the language. But Ahrens has shown in a satisfactory manner, that this  $\epsilon\nu\tau\epsilon$  for  $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , a form philologically inexplicable, is pseudo-Doric, and founded probably on a confusion of singular and plural in the vulgar idiom of later Dorians.

Passing on to the SUBJUNCTIVE MODE, we might expect to find the forms  $\epsilon\sigma\omega$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\eta$ , etc., i. e. the base  $\epsilon\sigma$  with the

proper endings of the subjunctive. Here, however, the  $\sigma$  has fallen away between the vowels, leaving  $\xi\omega$ ,  $\xi\eta\varsigma$ ,  $\xi\eta$ , etc., dialectic forms, whence by contraction  $\tilde{\omega}$ ,  $\tilde{\eta}\varsigma$ ,  $\tilde{\eta}$ , etc., the common forms in Attic Greek. As the Greek subjunctive is a formation peculiar to the Greek, or paralleled only by certain traces of a similar formation in the earlier Sanskrit of the Vedas, no illustration can be given here from other languages.

As for the OPTATIVE, we have already pointed out the relation of the Gr.  $\epsilon\iota\eta\nu$  to an earlier  $\epsilon\sigma\iota\eta\nu$ , proved by the Sansk. *syām*, Old Lat. *siem*, where the Greek has lost the consonant of the base, while the Sanskrit and the Latin have given up the vowel. This optative is formed by annexing the letters  $\iota\eta$ , Sansk.  $\gamma\acute{a}$ , directly to the base; like  $\delta\omicron\iota\eta\nu$  from  $\delta\omicron$ ,  $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta\nu$  from  $\theta\epsilon$ . The Sanskrit uses this formation in a considerable number of bases which end in a consonant. In Greek it is confined to bases ending in a vowel, i. e. pure bases, the only exception being this very verb  $\epsilon\sigma$ , which, however, by giving up the  $\sigma$ , presents in the optative the appearance of a pure verb. If the base  $\epsilon\sigma$  followed the analogy of other bases ending in a consonant, its optative would be  $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\iota$ , etc., or by dropping  $\sigma$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron\iota\mu\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\epsilon\omicron\iota$ , and the two last mentioned forms do in fact occur in Homer.

In the IMPERATIVE, 2d pers. sing.  $\iota\sigma\theta\iota$ ,  $\theta\iota$  is the personal ending, and the vowel of the base has passed by a not uncommon change from  $\epsilon$  to  $\iota$ : compare  $\pi\iota\tau\omega$  from  $\pi\epsilon\tau$ . In this instance the Sanskrit stands in disadvantageous comparison with the Greek, the Sansk.  $\acute{e}t\iota$  having lost the consonant of the base, while the Greek, influenced perhaps by a partiality for the combination  $\sigma\theta$ , has retained it.

The Homeric  $\iota\sigma\sigma\omicron$  has the ending of the middle, just as  $\eta\mu\eta\nu$  with the middle ending is sometimes found in place of the active  $\eta\nu$ . The future also  $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\mu\iota$  takes middle endings, though in the Lat. *ero* for *eso* it has the endings of the active. When we consider the meaning of this verb, terminating, as it does, upon the subject, we shall not be surprised at seeing it assume the subjective forms of the middle voice.

The 3d pers. plur. of the imperative in Sanskrit is *santu* for *asantu*. The corresponding form in Greek would be  $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega(\nu)$ , or, with the omission of the  $\sigma$ ,  $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega(\nu)$ , a common

Doric form. Hence also *δντων* by an abandonment of *ε*, as in the participle.

The INFINITIVE *εἶναι* is without doubt related to an original *εσναι*, as *εἶμι* to *εσμι*; but as the infinitive in *ν* or *ναι* is unknown to the common Sanskrit, it cannot be illustrated from that language. The base *εσ* combined with the dialectic endings *μεναι* or *μεν* would give *εσμεναι* or *εσμεν*; but here again we find the same changes as in the pres. ind. 1st pers. sing.; whence arise the forms *ἔμμεναι*, *ἡμεναι*, *εἰμεναι*, *ἔμμεν*, *ἡμεν*, *εἰμεν*. The Homeric *ἔμμεναι*, *ἔμμεν*, present no compensation for the vanished *σ*.

The Sanskrit PARTICIPLE is *sat*, acc. sing. masc. *santam*, for *asat*, *asantam*: Lat. *sens*, *sentis*, seen in the compounds *praesens*, *absens*. These forms indicate an original Greek participle *εσων*, *εσοντος*. But the *σ* has fallen away, according to the general analogy, and left *ἔων*, *ἔοντος*, the prevailing forms in dialectic Greek. Eventually, however, the short *ε* disappeared likewise, leaving the common *ὤν*, *ὄντος*, which in form are mere endings without a vestige of the base. It is a case much like the modern Greek adverb *δέν* *not*, from the ancient *οὐδέν*; that is, the word *not* with the negative part wholly omitted.

The Doric forms *ἔντος*, *ἔντι*, etc., connect themselves with the ind. 3d pers. plur. *ἐντι*, and are to be accounted for in the same manner, as resulting from an attempt to dispense with the connecting vowel, to connect the base *εσ* directly with the participle-ending *ντ*, which occasioned of necessity a sacrifice of the consonant *σ*. Hence too the Lat. *ens*; which, however, is not a native form of the Latin language, but borrowed from the Dorian philosophers of Magna Graecia.

In the IMPERFECT the base receives an augment and becomes *ησ*, Sansk. *ās*. The augment, however, is often rejected from this verb as well as from others, in the dialects, and especially in the Ionic. The augmented *ησ* appears most distinctly in the Doric 3d pers. sing. *ἦς*, where it stands alone, without connecting vowel or personal ending. It appears also in the 3d pers. plur. *ἦσαν*, Ion. *ἔσαν*, Sansk. *āsan* for *āsant*, Lat. *erant* for *esant*; likewise in the forms *ἦστον*, *ἦσιν*, Sansk. *āstam*, *āstām*, *āsta*, which in Greek are



generally softened by the omission of the  $\sigma$ , as ἤτορ, ἤτην, ἤτε. In the 1st pers. plur. ἤμεν, the  $\sigma$  is universally rejected.

In the singular the Sansk. *āsam*, *āsīs*, *āsīt*, the Lat. *eram*, *eras*, *erat*, i. e. *esam*, *esas*, *esat*, point to a Greek inflexion ἦσα(ν), ἦσας, ἦσε(ν). Here, however, the  $\sigma$  which the Latin changes into  $\tau$ , has in Greek fallen away in accordance with the general analogy. Hence ἦα or ἔα, ἔας, ἦε(ν), Epic and Ionic forms, which merely drop the  $\sigma$ , retaining the vowel by which it was originally united with the personal ending. The Ion. ἔον for εσον presents the  $\sigma$ , the usual connecting vowel of the imperfect. More commonly, however, after the omission of the  $\sigma$ , the short connecting vowel is absorbed in the preceding long  $\eta$ : whence ἦν or ἦ, ἦς or ἦσθα, ἦ or ἦν, the common forms of the singular. (The Epic forms ἦσθα, ἔην, ἦην are only instances of the tendency, so general in Epic Greek, to repeat the long vowel-sounds.) Perhaps, however, it might be better to consider these forms ἦν, ἦς, ἦ as the result of an effort to make the singular without a connecting vowel by attaching the endings ν, σ, τ, directly to the base ἦσ, which could only be accomplished by the rejection of the  $\sigma$ .

The FUTURE of this verb is not found in Sanskrit in a separate state. In Greek and Latin, where it is found, it has no proper tense-sign, but is in form a present, differing from the present of this verb by the insertion of a connecting vowel, and having the use of a future. In this absence of a tense-sign, ἔσομαι, *I will be*, may be compared with such forms as ἔδομαι, *I will eat*, and πίομαι, *I will drink*. The usual characteristic of the Greek future is σ, originally σι or σε, which is now generally regarded as containing the root of the substantive verb. We can easily understand, then, why it should not be used with the future of εἶμι, as that would involve a repetition of the root, a composition of the word with itself. Yet the tense-sign is undeniably present in the Dor. ἔσσομαι (= εσσεσθαι or εσσισθαι), and probably so in the Epic ἔσσομαι, where one σ may belong to the base, and the other to the tense-sign, and from which the common ἔσομαι is perhaps derived by neglecting the repetition of the consonant.

The middle endings of this future, as well as of the imperf. ἤμην, and the imper. ἔσσο, have been already noticed and explained.

ARTICLE XII.

TRANSLATION  
OF  
TWO UNPUBLISHED ARABIC DOCUMENTS,  
RELATING TO THE DOCTRINES  
OF THE  
ISMÂ'ILIS AND OTHER BÂTINIAN SECTS,  
WITH AN  
INTRODUCTION AND NOTES.  
BY  
EDWARD E. SALISBURY.

(Read October 25, 1849)



## INTRODUCTION.

SOME time ago, I received from Dr. Henry W. De Forest, missionary in Syria, an Arabic manuscript of fifty-seven leaves, consisting of three documents which throw new light upon the opinions held by the Ismâ'ilis, and other sects of Allegorists, or Mystics, of Muslim origin. Two of these documents bear marks of being authoritative with the sects themselves whose views they profess to represent; while the other, though controversial in its design and character, is valuable for comparison with them. The history of the Ismâ'ilis and their branches, of which the Druzes constitute one of the most important, is, at least in its outlines, sufficiently well known. But excepting the Druzes, whose books have now for some time been in the hands of the learned, the opinions of none of them have been definitely ascertained.\* Of the Nusairian and Ismâ'ilian documents announced within the last three years, in France and Germany, as recently discovered, only outlines with brief extracts, or mere tables of contents, have as yet been published.†

Under these circumstances, though with some diffidence, I publish the following translation of two of the documents

\* See *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions*, Tome xvii. pp. 127, ff.; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome ix. pp. 148, ff.; *C. Niebuhr's Reisebeschreibung*, Bd. ii. ss. 439, ff.; *Mémoires de l'Institut Royal, Classe d'Hist. et de Littér. Anc.*, Tome iv. pp. 1, ff.; *Die Geschichte der Assassinen*, d. Joseph von Hammer; *Mémoires sur les trois plus fameuses Sectes du Musulmanisme*, par M. R. pp. 51, ff.; *Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, by John Lewis Burckhardt, pp. 150-6; *Journal Asiatique*, Tome v. pp. 129, ff., *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, par M. le Baron Silvestre De Sacy, 2 Tomes; *Die Drusen and ihre Vorläufer*, von Dr. Philipp Wolff, Einleitung; *Geschichte der Chalifen*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, Bd. ii. ss. 493, ff.; *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xiii. pp. 26, ff.

† See *Journal Asiatique*, Série iv. Tome xi. pp. 149, ff.; *Idem*, Tome xii. pp. 72, ff. 485, ff.; *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morgenland. Gesellschaft*, Bd. ii. ss. 388, ff.; *Idem*, Bd. iii. ss. 302, ff.

sent to me by Dr. De Forest, setting one of them aside, for the present, for fear that I may not have yet fully mastered the system contained in it. The document set aside consists of two fragments of what purports to be a conversation between Muḥammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bâkir and Khâlid Ibn Zeid El-Ju'fy, related by the latter in the form of a رسالة, i. e. Missive, for the purpose of directing certain persons supposed to have "deviated from the path of rectitude." The former of the two interlocutors here introduced can be no other, as the conversation itself shows, than the fifth Imâm of the Ismâ'ilis, commonly known as El-Bâkir, a great-grandson of the Khalîfeh 'Aly; the other, who appears as an inquirer, is not so easily identified, but may be conjectured to be a descendant of 'Aly, whose father was a brother of El-Bâkir.\* But, inasmuch as Esh-Shahraštâny informs us that the Shî'ite sects, after the time of El-Bâkir, were much disposed "to pâss off" their opinions "upon his followers," and "to refer their origin to him, and to fix them on him," the question naturally arises, whether we have, in this Missive, the genuine doctrine of El-Bâkir, or that of some party availing itself of his name to give currency to views in reality not his. To judge by what Esh-Shahraštâny tells us of the opinions of El-Bâkir, the Missive in question might be taken as an authentic expression of his mind, for he here denies, either explicitly, or by implication, each of certain doctrines which are particularly mentioned by Esh-Shahraštâny as not actually held by him, and which therefore appear to have been those oftenest ascribed to him falsely. It is possible, however, that some party with which he was not so generally confounded, or perhaps kindred to his own, may have here used his name without authority. At all events, this Missive sets forth doctrines different from those maintained by either of the sects referred to, or represented, in the other two documents.

The first portion of the following translation is made from the controversial document. The original of this is entitled السطوة العدلية بالفرقة الاسماعيلية والعين الساخطة علي القرامطة i. e. *The Attack of the Partizan of Justice†*

\* See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. i ss. 625-7; Id. Bd. ii. s. 204.

† The orthodox author so designates himself as one holding to the justice of God in respect to predestination.

upon the party of the *Ismâ'îliyyeh*, and the Angry Eye upon the party of the *Karâmâtêh*, and is an extract from a larger work entitled *كتاب مناهج التوسل في مباحج التوسل*

i. e. *The Book of the Open Ways of Approach [to God,] touching the Gladdenings of [Divine] Lenity*. It seems to have been written on the appearance of some followers of Karmat in the Wâdy Ḥamâh, probably near to Ḥamâh in Syria, "between Homs and Kinnesrîn," as Abulfeda says, who adds that those who threw off the faith of Islâm, had free range there.\* There is no precise indication of the date of its composition, nor is the name of the author given. He only calls himself Esh-Shâfi'y, or the Shâfi'ite. This document consists of three parts. The author begins with eight hundred and thirty-two lines of rhymed measure, in which he portrays the hated party against which he writes, in concise and pointed terms. These rhymings I have passed over in translating, as the fuller statements in prose which follow them, though less piquant as a specimen of controversy, may be more safely relied upon for information. Next is introduced a piece in prose by another author. This author calls himself El-Âmidy, and it may be suggested as quite probable that he is the Scif ed-dîn El-Âmidy whom Ibn Khallikân speaks of as having taken up his residence at Ḥamâh, and there composed works "on the principles of religion, and jurisprudence, and logic, and philosophy, and disputation," and whose death, as the same authority informs us, took place A. H. 631, i. e. A. D. 1233-4.† It is worthy of notice, in this connection, that a portion of this piece strikingly resembles what Von Hammer published many years ago, on the Ismâ'ilis, as in substance contained in a work by El-Jorjány,‡ who, according to D'Herbelot, died A. H. 816, i. e. A. D. 1413-14.§ The third part of this document is a statement of inquiries respecting the Nuṣairis, presented to Taḳḳy ed-dîn Ibn Yatmiyeh, with his answer. This person was a distinguished doctor of Muslim law, who died, according to D'Herbelot, A. H. 768, or, as some say, A. H. 748, i. e. A. D. 1366-7, or A. D. 1347-8.¶

\* See *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. Reinaud et De Slane, pp. 262-3.

† See *Ibn Khallikân's Dictionnaire Biographique*, ed. De Slane, pp. 456-7.

‡ See *Journal Asiatique*, Tome vi. pp. 332-5.

§ See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 373.

¶ See *Idem*, p. 444.

It follows from the limitation of date thus given to the concluding part of this document, that it must have been compiled as late as the middle of the fourteenth century of our era. This document was obtained by Rev. Dr. Eli Smith, missionary in Syria, from Mikhâil Meshâka of Damascus.

The second portion of the following translation is made from a document without title, but of which the nature of the contents is sufficiently evident. It consists of four pieces. The first piece presents a system of cosmogony; the second, a formula of religious belief; the third, a mystical allegorizing of the doctrines set forth in that formula; and the fourth, a statement of the doctrine of the Imâm. All these pieces are in form declarative, not argumentative; and in reading them attentively one cannot resist the impression, that they are specimens of the so-called sermons which the Dâ'is, or missionaries, of the Ismâ'ilis are said to have been in the hábit of delivering, at stated seasons, in general assemblies of the sect, to those whom they would initiate into their system.\* That they express Ismâ'ilian doctrine is put beyond doubt by allusions contained in them. But, what is more, one may even refer some of them, with considerable confidence, to particular grades of initiation which are described by oriental writers as recognized by this sect, and are briefly alluded to in our first document. For the fourth piece evidently belongs to that stage of instruction of which the object was to impress with the sense of dependence upon the Imâm; and the third, to that which was designed to initiate the proselyte into a pretended mystic sense of the doctrines and precepts of Islâm; while the second might very appropriately have been delivered to less advanced scholars, by way of "pretension of agreement with them on the part of the great in religious and worldly affairs," that is, the leading religious and civil authorities of the day, or those of the Muslims, which our controversial document charges upon them as one of their practices. The date of these peculiar missionary-sermons cannot be exactly determined. But there seems to be an intimate connection between them all, so that whatever date belongs to one is probably to be affixed to all. This document, so important for its contents, was obtained through

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\* See *Mémoires de l'Institut*, Tome iv. pp. 4-5.

the courtesy of Mr. Von Wildenbruch, late Prussian Consul General for Syria, whose dragoman, Mr. Catafago, found it near Aleppo.

As a farther introduction to the following translation, are here added translations of several passages from Esh-Shahrastâny's celebrated *Book of Creeds and Sects*, relative to the parties to be brought before the reader. The passage above referred to, in which this author gives an account of El-Bâkir, is also appended. It seemed the more desirable to make these extracts, as no English translation of this high authority on such subjects is known to have been published; and the German translation by Haarbrücker, of which the first volume has recently appeared, although a good one, does not supply the place of one in our own language.\* The first of these extracts relates to the Ismâ'ilis, under the more general name of the Bâtinis, which includes also the followers of Karmat and the Nuṣairis.† The second is on the Ghâlis, the Extravagant Shî'is, in general.‡ The third is on that particular portion of this party denominated the Nuṣairis and Ishâkis.§ The fourth relates to El-Bâkir.||

Exactness has been my aim in translating; and to this every thing else has been sacrificed, so far as was consistent with preserving the English idiom. The foot-notes are intended mainly to facilitate the understanding of the text. A discussion of the many interesting topics suggested by it, would probably have been premature, if indeed it could have been entered upon.

“*The Bâtiniyeh.* ¶—This appellation is affixed to them only because they give out that every thing outward has an inward; and every letter of revelation, an allegorical sense. And they have many appellations beside this, according to

\* *Abu'l-Fath Muhammed asch-Schahrastâni's Religions-Partheien und Philosophen-Schulen*, zum ersten Male vollständig aus d. Arab. übersetzt von Dr. Theodor Haarbrücker. Erster Theil. Halle: 1850.

† See *Book of Religious and Philosophical Sects*, by Muhammad Al-Shahrastâni, ed. Rev. W. Cureton, pp. 147, ff.

‡ Idem, p. 132.

§ Idem, pp. 143, ff.

|| Idem, pp. 124, ff.

¶ i. e. Party of the hidden sense.



the language of one and another people. For in 'Irāk, they are named the Bâtinîyeh, and the Karamateh, and the Mazdakiyeh;\* and in Khorāsān, the Ta'limîyeh,† and the Mulhideh.‡ And they say, 'We are Isma'îliyyeh,§ for we are distinguished from the parties of the Shi'ah, by this name and this impersonation.'

"Now the ancient Bâtinîyeh have mingled with their system something of the system of the sect of Philosophers,|| and composed their books after that way. Say they respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! 'As for us, we say not that he is existent, nor that he is non-existent; neither that he is one who knows, nor that he is ignorant; neither that he is one possessed of power, nor that he is impotent; and in like manner, with regard to all the attributes. For veritable affirmation requires the association of him with other existences in that respect in which we speak of him absolutely, and that is anthropomorphism; so that he does not admit of judgment by absolute affirmation and absolute denial; on the contrary, he is the Deity of those who stand opposed to one another, and the Creator of disputers, and the arbiter between those who differ.' And respecting this, they also tell of Muḥammed Ibn 'Alî El-Bâkîr, that he said, 'Because he bestows knowledge on the knowing, it is said that he is one who knows; and because he bestows power on the powerful, it is said that he is one possessed of power. So then, he is one who knows, one possessed of power, in the sense that he bestows knowledge and power, not in the sense that knowledge subsists in him, and power, or that he is qualified with

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\* i. e. Party of Mazdak. Mazdak was the author of a modification of Manichæism, who was patronized by Kōbād, one of the Sāsānide kings, and put to death by Nūshirwān. For his opinions, see *The Dabistān*, transl. by Shea and Troyer, Vol. i. pp. 372, ff., Esh-Shahrastāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, pp. 192, ff. What particular ground there may have been for the application of this name to the Isma'îlis, we do not know. But there is reason to believe that they may have derived some of their peculiar doctrines from a Persian source.

† i. e. Party of instruction. The ground of this appellation appears from some of Hasan Ibn Šabbāh's "articles," stated further on by Esh-Shahrastāny.

‡ i. e. Heretics.

§ i. e. Party of Isma'îl, son of Ja'far Es-Sādk, the seventh and last Imām of the Isma'îlis.

|| Those of the Muslim learned men who were influenced in their religious opinions by the study of Greek philosophy, introduced among them especially under the Khalîfeh Mamūn, were called by this name.

knowledge and power.' But it is said respecting them that they are deniers of the attributes, who despoil the divine essence of the attributes.

"Say they, 'And in like manner we say, with regard to eternity, that he is not eternal, nor originated; on the contrary, the Eternal is his Amr and his Word,\* and that which is originated is his creation and his workmanship. He produced, by the Amr, the prime Intelligence, which is perfect in action; and by the intervention of that, he produced the secondary Soul, which is not perfect. And the relation of the Soul to the Intelligence is either the relation of the genital seed to the perfection of created form, and of the egg to the bird, or the relation of the child to the father, and of the offspring to her who brings forth, or the relation of the female to the male, and of consort to consort.' Say they, 'And because the Soul yearns after the completion of the Intelligence, it requires motion from incompleteness to completion, and motion requires the means of motion. And so the celestial spheres originate, and move with a circular movement, as governed by the Soul. And after them, the simple natural properties originate, and move with the movement of directness, also as governed by the Soul. And so are compounded the composites, namely, minerals, and plants, and animals, and man; and particular souls enter into bodies. And the species of man is distinguished from other existences, by peculiar preparedness for the effusion of those Lights; and his world stands opposed to the whole world. And an Intelligence and a Soul which is universal, in the higher world, makes necessary that there should be in this world an impersonated Intelligence which is a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of a complete, mature impersonation,' which they name the Nâtik,† and which is the Prophet, 'and an impersonated Soul which is also a whole, and of which the bearing is the bearing of an infant who is incomplete, tending to completion, or the bearing of the genital seed tending to perfec-

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\* It will be evident, farther on, that the Ismâ'ilian Word, or Amr, is a prime emanation from the Deity, having divine names and attributes, but distinct from the Deity itself.

† Nâtik, i. e. Utterer, is the name which the Ismâ'ilis give to every Prophet of a period, who declares the divine will for that time.

tion, or the bearing of the female consorted with the male,' which they name the *Asâs*,\* and which is the Legatee.

"Say they, 'And as the celestial spheres move as moved by the Soul and the Intelligence, and the natural properties too, in like manner souls and persons move in accordance with laws, as moved by the Prophet and the Legatee, in every age, in a circle of successive sevens, until the final period is reached, and the age of resurrection is entered, and obligations are taken off, and rules and laws are unloosed. And these movements of the celestial spheres, and the rules enjoined by law, are only in order to the Soul's attaining to the state of its completion; and its completion is its attaining to the degree of the Intelligence, and its being united to that, and its reaching the rank of that, as an actuality. And as for that, it is the greater resurrection, upon which the compoundings of the celestial spheres and the elements, and the composites,' are unloosed; and the heavens are rent; and the stars are dispersed; and the earth is exchanged for the absence of earth; and the heavens are rolled up like the rolling up of the scroll for the Book, written upon within; and creatures are reckoned with; and the good one is separated from the bad one, and the obedient one, from the disobedient one; and the constituents of truth are joined to the whole Soul, and the constituents of falsehood to the false *Sheitân*.† And so, from the time of motion up to rest is the beginning; and from the time of rest up to that which has no end is the completion.'

"Moreover they say, 'There is no statute, nor rule, nor sentence of the sentences of law, concerning barter, or patronage, or giving, or marriage, or divorce, or wounding, or revenge, or the price of blood, without its counter-part pertaining to the world, by number against number, and bearing against bearing; for the laws are worlds spiritual, of the *Amr*, and worlds are the laws embodied, belonging to created things. And in like manner, the compoundings which respect the letters and the words [of the *Kurân*,] are in the way of counter-part to the com-

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\* *Asâs*, i. e. Foundation, is the name given in the Ismâ'îlian system to the first of seven supposed successors of every *Nâtik*, that is, the first of seven *Imâms* of each period, whose office it is to confirm his teaching by the disclosure of its allegorical sense.

† See Rev. vi. 12-17; Id. xx. 5.

poundings of forms and bodies; and as for the single letters, their relation to the composites, of the words, is as bare simples to composites, of bodies. And every letter has a counter-part in the world, and a natural property with which it belongs, and an impress, so far as that property is in souls. And so, in consequence of this, sciences deriving virtue from the words of instruction, become an aliment to souls, like as aliments deriving virtue from the natural properties belonging to created things, become an aliment to bodies. And God has indeed ordained that something of that out of which it was created should be the aliment of every existence.'

"And on the ground of this equivalence, they go to telling the numbers of the words and verses [of the *Kurân*,] and that the calling upon the divine name\* is a composite of seven and of twelve; and that the extolling God is a composite of four words in one of the formulas of testimony, and of three words in the second formula of testimony; and that there are seven segments in the first, and six in the second; and that there are twelve letters in the second;† and in like manner, with regard to every verse which admits of their calculating its number;—all which he who is intelligent exercises not his thought upon, without coming short of it, through fear of his meeting his match!

"These counter-balancings constituted the way of their men of early times; who composed books respecting them, and called men to an *Imâm*, in every age, who knows the equivalences of these sciences, and directs to the paths of these positions and definitions.

"Afterwards, the men of the new call departed from this way, when *El-Hasan Ibn Eṣ-Sabbāl* proclaimed his call, and was unequal to the exigencies of his word, and asked

\* *بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم* i. e. *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate*, of which the first part, *In the name of God*, consists in the original of seven letters, and the remainder, of twelve.

† The two "formulas" here referred to are *لا إله إلا الله* i. e. *There is no Deity but God*, and *محمد رسول الله* i. e. *Muhammed is the Prophet of God*. By "segments," are meant separate syllables; to make these of the numbers mentioned, final vowels must be thrown off, and the Prophet's name must be pronounced *Muḥmed*.

help of men, and fortified himself in castles. And the commencement of his going up to the castle of Alamût was in Sha'bân in the year 483. And that was after he had made a journey to the country of his Imâm,\* and had got from him how to call the men of his age; upon which he returned, and called men with the first of a call to the doctrine of the appearance of a rightful Imâm taking his stand in every age, and of the distinction of the party which obtain deliverance from the other parties in this point; which is to say, that they have an Imâm, and that the others have not any Imâm. And the refined gold of his system, after the rejection of that which was said respecting it, amounts, ultimately, in the Arabic language and in the Persian language, to this particular. And as for us, we shall translate that which he wrote in the Persian language, into the Arabic; and there is no fault resting upon the translator; and the prospered is whosoever follows the truth, and turns aside from falsehood; and God is the Prosperer, and the Helper.

"So then we begin with the four Articles with which he began the call, and which he wrote in the Persian, and so I have put into the Arabic. Says he, 'He who gives an answer respecting the knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! has one of two things to say, either to say, "I know the Creator by mere intellect and speculation, without need of the teaching of a teacher," or to say, "There is no way to knowledge, with intellect and speculation, except by the teaching of a rightful teacher.' Says he, 'And whoever answers with the former, denies not another's intellect and speculation. For, as for him, if ever he so denies, he teaches; and the denial is a teaching, and a proof, that that which is denied has need of something other than itself.' Says he, 'And the two parts are both necessary consequences. For as for man, whenever he gives decisions, or makes a declaration, he speaks on his own part, or on the part of another; and in like manner, whenever he is bound with an obligation, he is bound with it on his own part, or on the part

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\* The Fâtimate Khalîfeh Mustanser-billah, who reigned in Egypt when Hasan began his career, is undoubtedly here intended. Before Hasan established an independent dynasty, he went about in the character of an Ismâ'îlian Dâ'i, advocating the legitimacy of the Fâtimites, as descendants of 'Aly, against the 'Abbâsides. See *Mém. de l'Inst.*, Tome iv. p. 8; *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, Tome iv. p. 687; Id. Tome ix. p. 152, ff.

of another.' This is the first Article; which is a rupture with the Men of opinion and intellect.\*

"And he states in the second Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a teacher is established, is then absolutely every teacher suitable, or must there of necessity be a rightful teacher?' Says he, 'And whoever says that every teacher is suitable, is not allowed to deny a teacher adverse to himself, forasmuch as, when he so denies, he yields the point that there must of necessity be a reliable, rightful teacher.' So much for this. And this is a rupture with the Men of tradition.†

"And he states in the third Article, as follows: 'Since the need of a rightful teacher is established, must there not of necessity be knowledge of the teacher, first of all, and possession of him, and afterwards instruction by him? or may there be instruction by every teacher, without his person being fixed upon, and his right being made clear?' And the latter is a coming back to the former,‡ forasmuch as, if one can not walk the way, except with one going before, and a companion, let there be the companion, and afterwards let the way be trod,—which is a rupture with the Shi'ah.

"And he states, in the fourth Article, that 'men constitute two parties, namely, a party who say, "There is need, with respect to knowledge of the Creator,—let him be exalted! of a rightful teacher; and the fixing upon him, and the recognition of him, is necessary, first of all, and afterwards instruction by him;" and a party who take up from a teacher, and from one who is not a teacher, in every science.

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\* The amount of this article seems to be, that religious instruction is necessary, contrary to the doctrine of those who hold that God is known by mere intellect and speculation, because whoever affirms the latter, if he would establish any definite criterion, must confine it to himself, and in so doing contradict his principle, by making circumstances personal to himself, independent of the possession of mere intellect and speculative faculty, requisite to the end.

† Exaggerators of ancient authority are here referred to. Esh-Shahrastány elsewhere says that they were called Men of tradition, "because their aim is to get traditions, and to hand down accounts, and to base sentences on authorities, and they do not go back to analogy, manifest or hidden, so long as they find an account, or a memorial." See Esh-Shahrastány's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, ed. Cureton, p. 160. That such a party were wanting in discrimination, as Hasan affirms, may easily be credited.

‡ That is to say, the very statement of the latter alternative involves the affirmation of the former.

'And it is clear, by the preceding premises, that the truth is with the former party; so that, as for their head, he must needs be the head of those who hold to the truth. And since it is clear that falsehood is with the latter party, their heads, consequently, must needs be the heads of those who hold to falsehood.' Says he, 'And this way is that which causes us to know the place of truth by the truth, with general knowledge. Then, after that, we know the truth by the place of truth, with special knowledge; so that the rotation of questions is not requisite.' And by 'the truth' he here means only the having need,\* and by 'the place of truth,' him who is needed. And says he, 'By the having need we know the Imâm, and by the Imâm we know the measures of the having need; just as by potentiality we know necessity, that is, the Necessarily Existing, and by this know the measures of potentiality in things potential.' Says he, 'And the way to the profession of unity is, by the measuring of feather by feather, in like manner.†

"Moreover, he states certain Articles which have respect to the confirmation of his doctrine, either by way of accommodation to, or by way of rupture with, received doctrines; and most of them are some rupture or other, and an insisting upon, and a demonstration of, diversity on the ground of falsehood, and agreement on the ground of truth. One of them is the 'Article of truth and falsehood, and the little and the great.' He states that 'in the world there is a truth and a falsehood;' after which he states that, 'as for the mark of truth, it is unity, and as for the mark of falsehood, it is multiplicity; and unity accompanies instruction, and multiplicity, opinion; and instruction accompanies the forming one party, and the forming one party, the Imâm; and opinion accompanies diverse parties, which accompany their heads.' And he lays down truth and falsehood, and the similarity between them, on the one hand, and the difference between them, on the other hand, the mutual confronting in the two extremes, and the ranking in one of the two extremes, as a balance by which he weighs every thing about which he disputes. Says he, 'And I have derived

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\* The need of a teacher.

† The meaning is, that one comes to the profession of the divine unity, with a full understanding of it, through the Imâm, precisely as it is through him that one attains to a complete conviction of his need of instruction.

this balance only from the word of testimony, and its being compounded of denial and affirmation, or denial and exception;’ says he, ‘so that not that which merits denial, is falsehood; and not that which merits affirmation, is truth. And by that is weighed the good and the bad, and the true and the false, and the other opposites.’\* And his main point is to come back, as respects every declaration and word [of the Kurân,] to the affirmation of a teacher; and that, as for the profession of unity, it is the profession of unity together with the doctrine of a Prophet, while it is the profession of unity; and that, as for the doctrine of a Prophet, it is the doctrine of a Prophet together with the doctrine of an Imâm, while it is the doctrine of a Prophet.†

“This is the end of his system. He prohibited common people, however, from meddling with a matter of science; and in like manner, people of note, from examining the ancient Books;‡ except those who knew the state of the case respecting every Book, and the degree attained by men in every science. And in respect to points relating to the Deity, he went not with his followers beyond his saying, ‘Our Deity is the Deity of Muhammed.’ Says he, ‘I and you say, that our Deity is the Deity of intellects, that is, that that which directs to him is the intellect of every intelligent being.’ But if it is said to one of them, ‘What sayest thou respecting the Creator,—let him be exalted! as for him, is he? and as for him, is he one, or multiple, possessed of knowledge, powerful, or not?’ this definition alone is given for answer, ‘My Deity is the Deity of Muhammed; and he it is who sent his Envoy with the direction; and as for the Envoy, he is the director to him.’

\* This “balance,” or principle of judgment as to the true and the false, the good and the bad, and all opposites, was derived from the fundamental confession of faith among the Muslims, *There is no Deity but God*, which expresses the truth of the divine unity only as the propositions included in it, namely, *There is no Deity* and *God is a Deity*, each of which, by itself, may stand either for truth or for falsehood, are taken together as mutually complementary. The general principle may be stated as follows. that what may be affirmed absolutely, as between any opposites, consists in the complementary relation to each other of those opposites.

† This means, that the declaration *There is no Deity but God*, implies the doctrine of a Prophet to reveal the truth thus expressed, and that the doctrine of a Prophet, expressed in the declaration *Muhammed is his Prophet*, implies that of an Imâm to carry on the Prophet’s work.

‡ The Scriptures of former periods, or previous Divine Revelations.



"And often as I have entered into discussion with the people, on the ground of the premises stated, they have not taken a step beyond their saying, 'Have we then need of thee?' or 'Shall we hear this from thee?' or 'Shall we be instructed by thee?' And often as I have been conciliating towards the people, respecting the having need, and have said, 'Where is he who is needed? and how determines he for me the points relating to the Deity? and what is it which he prescribes in respect to things which are objects of the intellect? inasmuch as "the teacher" has no meaning intrinsically, and only has meaning because he teaches; and ye, indeed, shut up the gate of science, and open the gate of submission to dictation, and the following of authority; and an intelligent being is not content to believe a doctrine, without any evidence to rest upon, or to walk in a way, without any proof that he should do so,'—the beginnings of the system have been authorizings to judge, and submissions to authority. 'But not, by thy Lord, not believe will they, until they make thee the judge respecting that which is in controversy between them; after which, they will not find, in their souls, any fault pertaining to that which thou determinest; and they will submit themselves, with submission.'"\*

"*The Ghálīyeh.*†—These are they who are extravagant in respect to the reality of their Imâms, to such a degree that they put them out of the limits of the creature-state, and pronounce bearings of the state of Deity to be in them. For often they liken one of their Imâms to God; and often they liken God to the creature; and they hold to the two extremes of extravagance and curtailment.‡ And their assimilations have only grown out of the doctrines of the Incarnationists and the Transmigrationists, and the doctrines of the Jews and the Christians; inasmuch as the Jews liken the Creator to the creature, and the Christians liken the creature to the Creator; and so these assimilations passed into the minds of the Extravagant Shī'ah, to such a

\* Kurân, Sur. iv. v. 68. It is the edition of Flügel which is referred to in these notes, in all cases.

† i. e. Party of the Extravagants.

‡ The writer means that they not only exalt the creature to the rank of the Deity, but also bring down the Deity to the level of the creature.

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the people of the United States. They are waiting for the day when they can get a lot of money and get the rest of the world to follow them. And there is a danger that they will do this. The way to generalize the name of the United States is to include the Indians and the people of the United States. Say they, 'The Americans'

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or friend. But if we need  
hidens. Now from one of our  
followers of Black, who  
took him to the Black of  
of the

**SECRET**

of the spiritual in a material body is a thing which no intelligent being denies; whether on the side of good, like the appearance of Jebrîl,—let peace be to him! by some impersonation, and the being fashioned in the form of one of the Arab race, and the being likened to the form of mankind; or on the side of evil, like the appearance of Esh-Sheitân in the form of man, so that he may work evil in his form, and the appearance of the Jinns in the form of mankind, so that they may dispute with its tongue. And so, on account of that, we say that God,—let him be exalted! appears in the form of impersonations. And because there is not, after the Envoy of God,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! any impersonation more excellent than 'Aly,—let benediction and peace be to him! and after him, his appropriated descendants,\* who are the best of creatures, therefore, the true God appears in their form, and speaks with their tongue, and holds with their hands. So then, by virtue of this we generalize the name appropriate to the state of Deity so as to include them. And we affirm this being appropriated of 'Aly, preferably of any one else, only because he had given to him specially an aiding from God,—let him be exalted! which is something that connects itself with the hidden sense of mysteries. Said the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! "I judge by the outward, and God has charge of secrets."† And by virtue of this, it was the lot of the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! to fight with polytheists, and the lot of 'Aly to fight with hypocrites. And by virtue of this, he likened him to 'Îsa Ibn Maryam, and said, "And if men may not have said respecting thee that which they say respecting 'Îsa Ibn Maryam, have not I, indeed, declared respecting thee with a declaration?"‡

"And often they affirm of him a participation in the envoyship, inasmuch as he said, 'Among you is one who fights on the ground of its allegorical sense, as I fight on the ground of its letter; is he not, indeed, the sewer of the sandal?'§ and so, that the knowledge of the allegorical sense, and the fighting with hypocrites, and the disputing with the Jinns, and

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\* Appropriated as dwelling-places of the Deity.

† A traditionary saying.

‡ A traditionary saying.

§ Meaning, does he not complete what I begin? This also is one of the traditionary sayings of the Prophet.

the removing of the gate of Khaibar, not by corporeal power,\* are the most convincing proof that in him was a divine part, and a sovereign power from the Lord, or that it is he in whose form God appeared, and with whose hand he created, and with whose tongue he commanded. And by virtue of this, they say, 'He was in existence before the creation of the heavens and the earth; says he, "We were shadows on the right hand of the throne; and so we gave glory, and then the angels gave glory with our giving glory,"—and as for those shadows, and those forms not casting shade, they are real, and shine with shining, by the light of the Lord; which is not cut off from them, whether they are in this world or in that world. And by virtue of this, 'Aly said, "I am of Ahmed as light of light,"—meaning that there is no distinction between the two lights, except that one of them precedes, and the second, a correlate to it, comes on after it. And this proves a sort of association.'

"But the Nusairiyyeh are more inclined to maintain the divine part; and the Ishâkiyyeh are more inclined to maintain the association in the prophetic office. And they have other disagreements which we shall not mention."

"*The Bâkirîyyeh, and the constant Ja'farîyyeh.*—They are the followers of Abû Ja'far Muhammed Ibn 'Aly El-Bâkir, and his son Ja'far Es-Sâdik. They declare the imamship of both of them, and the imamship of their parent Zein el-'Âbidîn; except that among them are some who are constant to one of the two, and forward not the imamship to their descendants, and some who do forward.† And we distinguish this party over and above the sects professing to be Shi'ah which we shall mention, only because those of the Shi'ah who are constant to El-Bâkir, and declare his return, are in constancy like those [of the Shi'ah] who declare the imamship of Abû 'Abdallah Ja'far Ibn Muhammed Es-Sâdik.

\* This must refer to some tradition connected with the taking of Khaibar by Muhammed.

† The meaning is, that some regard one or the other of the two as the last Imâm, to whom the imamship still belongs, although he is for a season withdrawn from human view, while others consider the imamship as the inheritance of successive generations in the line of his posterity.

"And he was a possessor of rare science in religion, and perfect culture in philosophy, and consummate self-restraint in respect to this world, and complete abstinence from appetites. And he had dwelt in Medîneh a length of time, doing much service to the Shî'ah who sided with him, and committing to those friendly to him the secrets of the sciences; when he entered 'Irâk, and dwelt there a length of time. He never assumed the imamship, nor contended with any one respecting the khalifship; and whoever plunges into the sea of knowledge, is not eager for a shore; and whoever is elevated to the summit of verity, fears not a letting down; and there is a saying, 'Whoever has converse with God, is empty of men, and whoever cultivates familiarity with others than God, the Tempter makes a prey of him.'\* And he was related, on the father's side, to the stock of prophecy; and on the mother's side, he was related to Abû Bekr,—let God be gracious to him! And he cleared himself of that which any one of the Extravagants had to do with, and cleared himself of him, and cursed them; and he was clear of the peculiarities of the doctrines of the Râfidheh,† and their fooleries, namely, the declaring of the disappearance and the return,‡ and the coming forth,§ and transmigration, and incarnation, and anthropomorphism.

"But the Shî'ah were divided, after his day, and every one of them professed a doctrine, and desired to pass it off upon his followers, and referred its origin to him, and fixed it on him; while the master was clear of that, and of the system of the Mu'tazileh,|| and also of the doctrine of the Kadarîyeh.¶ This is his saying respecting volition, namely, 'God,—let him be exalted! wills by us something, and

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\* This is probably a traditionary saying of Muhammed

† i. e. Party of the Deserters, the name given to a party whose doctrinal belief Esh-Shahrastâny characterizes by saying that "they are extravagant in respect to the prophetic office and imamship, to such a degree that they come to the doctrine of incarnation [of the Deity]." See Esh-Shahrastâny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects* p. 9

‡ The disappearance and return of the Imâm

§ The manifestation of the Deity by emanation

|| This was essentially, as Esh-Shahrastâny expresses it, such an "extravagance in the way of thinking about the divine unity, as amounted to making God a vacancy by the denial of attributes." See Esh-Shahrastâny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, p. 9

¶ i. e. Maintainers of power [in man,] in opposition to the doctrine of absolute divine decrees.

wills from us something; and so, that which he wills by us he hides from us, and that which he wills from us he manifests to us. So then, what have we to do, to meddle with that which he wills by us, to the neglect of that which he wills from us?" And this is his saying respecting predestination, namely, 'It is a thing between two things, not absolutism, and not indifferentism.' And he was wont to say, in prayer, 'O God, to thee belongs the praise, if I obey thee; and to thee it belongs to convict, if I disobey thee. There pertains not to me, nor to any one else, any efficiency in the case of a doing well; and there is no convicting on my part, or on the part of any one else, in the case of a doing ill.'

"Now then, we will mention the sects which differed from each other respecting him, and after his day, not on the ground of their being divisions of his partizans,—on the contrary, on the ground of their having to do with the root of his stock, and the branches of his descendants."\*

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\* Meaning, as holding in common that the manship is perpetuated in his family, while distinguished by particular attachment to one or another of his descendants.



## TRANSLATION.

## I.

*THE Ismâ'iliyeh.*—These are called by seven appellations. [1.] The Bâtiniyeh, on account of their profession of the inward sense of the Book, beside its outward sense. For they say, that the Kurân has an outward and an inward sense; and as for its meaning, that its outward sense appertains to the sciences of language, and that the relation of the inward sense to the outward is like the relation of the pith to the bark. And they say that the laying hold of its outward sense punishes with fatigue in assiduous action,\* and that its inward sense is an aid to the leaving off of action by its outward sense. And as respects this, they lay hold of his saying,—let him be exalted! “And so there is established between them a wall, having a gate the inward part of which, within it, is mercy, and the outward part, before it, is punishment.”† [2.] The Karâmâtch, because their leader, he who levelled the high-way for their doctrine, was a man named Hamdân of Karmat,‡ which is the only place of its name, namely, Karmat of Wâsit. [3.] The Haramiyyeh,§ on account of their desecration of sacred things, and allowing of things forbidden. [4.] The Sab'iyyeh,|| because they think that the Nâtiks of the revealed laws, that is, the Envoys, are seven,

\* Meaning that it obliges to go through laborious outward observances.

† See Kurân, Sur Ivu v. 13. The “wall” spoken of in this passage, is properly a wall separating “believers” from “hypocrites” in a future state.

‡ This person, commonly called Karmat, was the leader of a faction among the Ismâ'îlis, which separated itself A. H. 277, i. e. A. D. 890–1, and afterwards became fearfully celebrated under the name of the Karmâtis, or the Hashishia. See De Sacy's *Exposé de la Reliq. des Druzes*, Tome i. Introd. pp. 166, ff. Wâsit, within the territory of which Hamdân is said by our author to have originated, was on the Tigris, at about the same distance, fifty parasangs, from Basrah, Kûfah, Ahwâz and Baghdâd. See Reinaud and De Slane's *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. 307.

§ i. e. Party of the illegal.

|| i. e. Party of the number seven.



namely, Adam, and Nûh, and Ibrâhîm, and Mûsa, and 'Îsa, and Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! and Muḥammed the Mehdy,\* the seventh of the Nâṭiks; and that between each two of the Nâṭiks there are seven Imâms, who rely upon the law of the Nâṭik; and that there must of necessity be in every age seven who are imitated, and by whom direction is given, in respect to religion, who differ from one another in rank, namely, an Imâm, who aids the religion of God, who is the acme of arguments in proof of the religion of God; and a Hujjeh,† who relieves the Imâm, sustaining his science, and thereby authenticating him; and a Dhû-l-maṣṣah,‡ who imbibes science from the Hujjeh, that is, receives it from him;—these three, and also certain Bâbs, who are the Dâ'is,§ namely, an Akbar, that is a Dâ'i Akbar;|| who is the fourth among them, who elevates the degrees of believers; and a Dâ'i Madhûn,¶ who receives the engagements binding inquirers from among the People of the outward sense, and causes them to enter into clientship with the Imâm, and opens to them the gate of science and knowledge; and he is the fifth; and a Mukellib,\*\* whose degree in religion is indeed elevated, but who is not licensed in respect to the office of Dâ'i, whose license on the contrary respects argumentation with men, and who accordingly argues, and renders eager for the Dâ'i, like the hunter's dog, until, when he has argued with one of the People of the outward sense, and has drawn him off from his doctrine, so that he is averse to it, and inquires after the truth, he, the Mukellib, conducts him to the Dâ'i, who

\* i. e. Way of direction. The Muhammed so designated was a son of Ima'il Iḥu Ja'far Ee-Sâdik. Being the Nâṭik of the seventh and last period of the Ismâ'îlis, this personage is to be considered as the originator of their party. Their first existence as a separate sect may therefore be placed in the latter part of the second century of the Hiyrah, that is, the latter part of the eighth, or the beginning of the ninth, century of our era. See De Sacy's *Exposé de la Relig des Druzes*, Tome 1. Introd. pp. 65-7.

† i. e. Argument, literally.

‡ i. e. Imbiber.

§ The Ismâ'îlian missionaries are called Bâbs, i. e. Gates, with reference to their being a medium of access to the Imam.

|| i. e. Greater Dâ'i, or Head Missionary. The Ismâ'îlis, in carrying on their proselytism, formed dioceses, over each of which some one Dâ'i presided.

¶ i. e. Licensed Dâ'i.

\*\* i. e. Dog-trainer. The ground of this appellation appears in what immediately follows.

is licensed to receive the engagements binding him; (says El-Âmidy, they call such a person a Mukellib only because he is like the ravenous beast, who draws off the hunter's dog from the game, according to what he says agreeing therewith, and ye know not of ravenous beasts any which train dogs;) and he is the sixth; and a Mumm,\* who follows after him, that is, pants for the Dâ'i, from whom are received the engagements binding him, and who believes, and is thoroughly acquainted with the engagement, and enters into clientship with the Imâm, and acts according to him; and he is the seventh. These, they say, are like the heavens, and the earths, and the seas, and the days of the week, and the planets which govern with a command. [5.] The Bâbekîyeh,† masmuch as a party among them follow Bâbek El-Khursany in respect to going out clad in the mantle of Yemen, and in red, because they wore red in the days of Babek, or because they were like those who differed from them of the Muslims, in respect to the mantle. [6.] The Ismâ'îliyeh, an account of their affirming the manship as the right of Isma'il Ibn Ja'far Es-Sâdik, who was the eldest of Ja'far's sons; or, as some say, on account of the derivation of their heterodoxy from Muhammed Ibn Isma'il.‡

And the root from which their preaching of the abrogation of the laws grew up, was the Kobâdîyeh, a sect of the Magians, who, being goaded by Islâm, aimed to allegorize the laws in certain ways coming back to the principles of their forefathers,§ that is to say, they assembled, and reminded one another of the position of undivided rule which their forefathers held, and said, "There is no way for us to eject the Muslims by the sword, on account

\* The Believer

† The Party of the Followers of Bâbek These were, originally at least, of that subdivision of the Isma'îlis called the Extravagant Shi'is. See Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Bd. ii. s. 235-6 The appellation El-Khursany, here

given to Babek, should undoubtedly be El-Khursany, **الخرسني**, as a relative adjective, in an abridged form, from **خراسان**, Khorasân, the country where Babek mustered his followers, in the reign of the Khalîfeh Mamûn

‡ See note \* p. 280

§ From this it would appear that the Magian party established by Mazdak, whom the Sasanide king Kobad patronized, survived the death of its founder, and existed, bearing a name derived from its royal patron, at the time of the inroads of Islam into Persia. See note \* p. 264

of their superiority, and their possession of the seats of empire; but let us use stratagem, by allegorizing their laws, with a view to a coming back to our principles, leading on by degrees the weak among them; and so that will necessitate their being at variance with one another, and the shaking of their system." And their head, in respect to that,\* was Ḥamdân of Karmat, or, as some say, 'Abdallah Ibn Meimûn El-Kaddah.†

And in calling and leading on men, they have degrees of finesse; which comprehends [1.] the judging by the countenance of the state of the person called, whether he is favorable to the call, or not; and the saying, "Thou wilt make excuse for the putting of the germ into the trunk,"‡ that is, for the call of one not favorable, is in accordance with that; and they refuse to dispute "in a house where there is a lamp," that is, in a place where there is a doctor of the law, or a metaphysician; and then [2.] the familiarizing oneself with the inclination of every one of those called, with that which he inclines to, as respects his desire, and his native bent, pertaining to withdrawal from the world, and free living; and so, if he inclines to withdrawal from the world, it is set off in fair colors before him, and its opposite is depreciated; and if he inclines to free living, that is set off in fair colors before him, and its opposite is depreciated, until the man is thereby gained; and then [3.] the causing to doubt in respect to the corner-stones of the law, and the abbreviations of the surahs,§ in that one says, "What is the meaning of the isolated letters in the beginnings of the surahs? and of the statute requiring a woman in her menses to fast, without a statute requiring her to pray, that is, why is one needful, and not the other? and of the necessity of ablution on account of the seminal discharge, and not of the urine? and of the number of the

\* That is, the leader of the Ismâ'îlis in respect to the imitation of the Kabbâlich, in annulling the laws of Islâm by allegorical interpretation

† De Sacy supposes that this person lived about the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, that is, about A D 864. See *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Tome i. Introd. p 165

‡ A saying, apparently, of the Ismâ'îlis, meaning that to impart instruction to one not fit to receive it is not allowed. According to Von Hammer, quoting El-Jorjâny, the saying was that seed should not be thrown into a saline soil. See *Journal Asiatique*, Tome vi. p. 333.

§ i. e. The chapters of the Kurân

prostrations in prayer, that is, why are they in some cases four, and in some, three, and in some, two?"—and so on to things remote from these; and the reason why they thus render them doubtful, and cause to inquire the answer in regard to these things, is that they may be inquired of, on their return, respecting them; and then [4.] the confirmation, which includes two things, namely, first, the receiving of the engagement from the candidate, in that they say that God's *Sunneh* has had currency by the receiving of engagements and pledges, and alledge, in proof of that, his saying,—let him be exalted! "And when we received from the Prophets their engagements,"\* and then receive, with receiving his engagement, made in accordance with a firm belief, on his part, that no secret thing is hidden from them; and second, the obligating him, in behalf of the *Imâm*, with respect to the clearing up of that which he is confused about, of the things which one presents to him; because it is he who knows them, and the candidate has no command of them until he elevates himself to something of the degree which pertains to him, and comes to the *Imâm*; and then [5.] the imposition, which is the pretension of agreement with them on the part of the great in religious and worldly affairs,† so that the candidate may be more in favor of that to which one calls him; and then [6.] the putting upon a foundation, which is the arranging of premises to which he who is called is favorable, and which he grants, which point him to that false doctrine to which one calls him; and then [7.] the divestiture, which is the causing to rest in the neglect of corporeal actions; and then [8.] the despoiling of the firm beliefs of religion.

And when an affair of calling has gone so far, they set about to abrogate prohibitions, and to mete to indulgence in pleasures, and to allegorize the laws, agreeably to their saying that the partial washing signifies friendship to the *Imâm*; and as for the entire washing, that it is the receiving by hearsay from the *Madhûn*, when the *Imâm* is hidden, what prayer is; and that prayer signifies the *Nâtik*, who is the *Envoy*, as is proved by his saying,—let him be exalted! "Verily, prayer restrains from depravity and crime;"‡ and that the having nocturnal pollution signifies

\* *Kurân*, Sur. xxxiii. v. 7.

† See p. 262.

‡ *Kurân* Sur. xxix. v. 44.

the divulging of one of their secrets to one who is not of the people to whom it belongs, without any object in so doing; and the ablution of the whole body, the renewal of the pledge; and alms-giving, the purification of the soul by knowledge of the religion which they profess; and the Ka'beh, the Prophet, and the gate [of the Ka'beh,] 'Aly; and Es-Safâ, 'Aly, and El-Marweh,\* the Prophet; and the place of rendezvous of pilgrims,† the familiarizing;‡ and the bending,§ the responding to the call; and the circling of the House seven times, friendship to the seven Imâms; and the Garden, the repose of bodies from duty; and the Fire, the severity of toil in duty;—and so on to other of their ravings.

And their doctrine is, that God is not existent, nor non-existent; neither knowing, nor ignorant; neither powerful, nor weak;—and so on, as to all the attributes; and that because veritable affirmation requires the association of him with things existent, which is an anthropomorphism; while absolute denial requires the association of him with things non-existent, which is a making void. But that, on the contrary, he is necessarily possessed of these attributes, and the Lord of contraries.|| And often they blend their system with the system of the Philosophers, and accordingly say that he,—let him be exalted! produced by his Amr the perfect Intelligence, and that by means of that was the production of the Soul, which is not perfect; and so, that the Soul yearns after the perfect Intelligence, seeking to be quickened by it; and consequently, that there is a requiring of motion from incompleteness to completion; and that motion is perfected only through its [the Soul's] restlessness; and so, that the bodies of the celestial spheres originate, and move with a circular movement, as governed by the Soul; and so, that by means of them originate the simple elementary

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\* This and Es-Safâ are the two hills, near Mekkeh, between which the Muslim pilgrim performs a seven times repeated ceremonial walk, on coming to the holy city. See *Travels in Arabia*, by John Lewis Burckhardt, vol. 1. pp 174-6.

† That is, after the ceremonies on first coming to Mekkeh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1. pp. 179-80.

‡ Meaning the associating oneself with the Ismâ'îli.

§ Meaning the performance of *reka'at*, or prostrations, before the seven times repeated walk around the Ka'beh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. 1. p. 172.

| See page 264.

natural properties; and that by means of the simples originate the composites, namely, minerals, and plants, and the species of animals; and that the most excellent of them is man, on account of his preparedness for the effusion upon him of the Lights of the Holy One, and his connection with the higher world; and that, as the higher world contains a perfect Universal Intelligence, and an imperfect Universal Soul, which is the source of beings, so there is in the lower world a perfect Intelligence, which is a means of deliverance, by likeness in it to the relation of the primitive Soul to the primitive Intelligence, in what relates to the causing of beings to exist; and that that is the Imâm, who is a Nâṭik-Legatee; and that, as the celestial spheres move as moved by the Intelligence and the Soul, in like manner living souls move to deliverance, as moved by the Nâṭik and the Legatee,—that it is so in every age and period.

Says El-Âmidy, Such were the opinions of some senseless person; and when El-Hasan Ibn Muḥammed Eṣ-Ṣabbâḥ appeared,\* he exerted himself, and the call assumed that he was the Hujjah, who relieves the Imâm, whom no period may be without. And the sum of his system was that which took the precedence, respecting the need of the teacher. Moreover, he prohibited common people from meddling with the sciences, and people of note from looking into the ancient Books, lest their disgraces should be exposed. And afterwards they became Philosophers, and ceased not to make sport of the canons of religious ordinances and legal commands; and they entrenched themselves in fortresses, and their power increased, and any kings whose vezirs were of their party, feared calamity, for they made a show of neglecting duties, and openly desecrated sacred things, and became like brute beasts, without any religious control, or legal restraint.

Says he [the author] respecting the *Tâtârkhânîyeh*,† And in the year 577, the doctors of the law of Samarkand were

\* See page 267, ff.

† El-Âmidy now proceeds to state opinions which had been recently delivered by the fakîhs of Samarkand, relative to the Karmatis. The appellation of the *Tâtârkhânîyeh* which he here gives them, without any explanation, is deserving of attention. It must certainly be inferred from it, that the followers of Karmat had, in process of time, become so associated with some people among the Northern hordes, which in the thirteenth century of our era were pressing in upon the old empire of the Khalifehs, that a name significant of such an association would be generally understood as applicable to them.

asked,—respecting a man who makes a show of Islâm, and prays, and fasts, and makes a show of the profession of unity, and belief in Muhammed,—let peace be to him! for many years, and afterwards confesses, saying, “As for me, I have been, during these past years, a firm believer according to the doctrine of the *Ḳarâmateh*, and I have been a *Dâ'i* to men; and now I am a convert, and return to Islâm,” and makes now a show of that which he before made a show of, pertaining to the religion of Islâm, only that he is suspected to hold the doctrine of the *Ḳarâmateh*, as if he were among them,—what the sentence is as to his blood, and his property, and his effects, while the occasion of his exposing himself, and his confession, is that he has been found out, and it were idle, until he confesses his doctrine, to put him to death.

'Abd-El-Karîm Ibn Muhammed said, “The putting to death of the *Ḳarâmateh*, universally, is a necessary thing, and their being treated without discrimination, a statute, because they are veritably apostate unbelievers, and their influence to corrupt the religion of Islâm is greater than any other, and the injury which they do, the greatest of injuries.”

Abû-l-Hasan Muhammed Saïd said, “It may be said of this man of whom mention is made, as Abû Hanîfeh,—let God be merciful to him! is related to have said respecting a *Ḳadary*\* who said, in the presence of Abû Hanîfeh, ‘I am a convert;’ Abû Hanîfeh, namely,—let God be merciful to him! said, ‘Conversion on thy part is that thou returnest to all whom thou hast led astray, and callest them to the truth, and sayest, “As for me, I have been holding falsehood.”’

And Abû-l-Kâsim 'Abd-El-Rahmân Ibn El-Husem Eş-Saffâr said, “With regard to the like of these, namely, the *Ḳarâmateh*, whenever we cause them to be found out, the obligation rests upon the Sultân, in the first instance, and upon the doctors of the law of the Muslims, in the second instance, to set it down to their account to put them to death, and to eradicate them, not admitting, on their part, either conversion, or apology.”

And Abû Muhammed 'Abd-El-Karîm Ibn Muhammed said, “As for all who act openly, of the *Ḳarâmateh*,—let

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\* See note ¶ p. 276.

God abandon them! as firm believers according to their doctrine, and become Dâ'is of men to it, they are not, after that, sincere in their pretension of conversion, and return to Islâm; because they are not truly converted, and make a show, on their part, of that which they make a show of, only after the manner of piety, for the safety of themselves, and their property, and their families, and their children, or something thereof; for a certain one said, 'Methinks that to pray, which profits not, is advantageous among Imâms,' and he was one of the Party of the Impious; to which his pupil said, 'O my preceptor, what avails this assiduity, while we acknowledge the faith?'"\* whereupon he said, 'It is on account of the custom of the country, and for the protection of family and children.' So then, if we were to admit, on their part, that which they pretend of conversion, they would make that turn out to the overthrow of Islâm and the laws; and the injury to the Muslims would be greater than that which happens to them of injury from those with whom they are at war. And accordingly, one of our men tells us that the doctors of the law in Balkh have decided in favor of shedding the blood of the Kārāmâtch, and burning up their houses, after they have declared themselves of their opinion; and so some of them were beaten with thongs, and afterwards put to death."

And Abû Selmeḥ Muhammed Ibn Dâwûd Esh-Shâfi'y, said, "Whoever bruits this vile doctrine, and makes a show, on his part, of the call to it, let not any conversion be admitted on his part, but on the contrary let him be put to death. And Abû Se'îd El-Istakhry, one of our men, was of this opinion, and said, 'Some of our men have distinguished that which marks the apostate in the follower of Karmat, with respect to conversion. And if the follower of Karmat is an apostate, he lets go the manifest senses of words, and calls up their hidden senses; and so, when he with his tongue makes a show of conversion on his part, it may be that, together with that, he declares something hidden, which he pretends, as his tongue happens to express it, after the manner of piety; and he gives out that he is already converted, so that his being a Muslim may not be judged of.

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\* Meaning the principles involving the abrogation of all outward observances.



And as for the apostate other than the follower of Karmat, because he calls not up the hidden senses of words, as the follower of Karmat does, and he was a Muslim originally, whenever he professes Islâm, he returns, and we know that he is converted. Verily he,—let him be exalted! says, “So then, what shall be the portion of those who fight against God and his Envoy, and exert themselves to corrupt the earth? etc.,”\*—which is directed against those who exert themselves to corrupt the earth; but religion is worthier and prior, because that which religion enjoins is of more moment, to be cared for, than the earth, in every respect, and prior to it.”†

The above is in brief what was said.

And an inquiry was proposed to the Sheikh el-Islâm, the Seal of profound investigators, of the party of Hanbal, Takky ed-dîn Ibn Yâtmiyeh, the form of which was as follows:† “What say the learned seignors, the Imâms of religion,—let God be gracious to them all, and aid them to manifest the plain truth, and to cover the fair show of errorists! respecting the Nuṣairîyeh, who declare the lawfulness of wine, and the transmigration of spirits, and the eternity of the world; and profess to deny the awakening,‡ and the gathering, and the resurrection, and the Garden and the Fire, in another than the life which is of this world; and declare that the five prayers signify five names, which are 'Aly, and El-Hasan, and El-Husein, and Muḥsin, and Fâtîmeh, so that the mentioning of these five suffices them, in place of the ablution of the whole body, on account of sexual intercourse, and the partial washing, and the other conditions of prayer, and its essentials; and that fasting, in their opinion, signifies three men, and is the name of three women, all of whom they enumerate in their books, to mention whom particularly there is no room here; and that their Deity, who created the heavens and earth, is 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib,—let God be gracious to him! so that he, in their

\* Kurân. Sur. v. v. 37. But there is a slight variation from the common reading in this quotation. The passage properly reads, “The portion of those etc. is only that etc.”

† Here begins the third part of this document See p 261.

‡ By this is intended, I suppose, the awakening of the dead, in their graves, to be examined by the angels Munkir and Nakir, and to receive from them a foretaste of their final allotments.

opinion, is the Deity in the heavens, and the Imâm on the earth; and the philosophy which maintains the manifestation of the Deity in this humanity, is based upon their view that he enters into familiarity with his creatures in order that he may teach them how they may know him, and serve him;—and that the Nusairi becomes not, in their opinion, a believing Nusairi, whom they will sit with, and in company with whom they will drink, and whom they will let into their secrets, and to whom they will give in marriage of their women, until his teacher addresses him; and the substance of the address, in their opinion, is that they make him swear to the concealment of his religion, and the knowledge of his elders and the great ones among the people of his doctrine, and that he will consult no Muslim, nor any others, excepting those who are of the people of his religion, and that he acknowledges his Imâm, and his Lord, as manifested in his revolutions and his periods, and so acknowledges the transmission of the Ism and the Ma'na\* in every epoch and age. And the Ism, in their opinion, among the first of men, was Adam, and the Ma'na, Shait;† and the Ism, Ya'kûb, and the Ma'na, Yûsuf; and they use to prove this representation, as they think, that which is in the Kurân, namely, a story about Ya'kûb and Yûsuf,—let peace be to them, both! and accordingly say, "What was Ya'kûb? as for him, he was the Ism, for what power exceeds its station?‡ and he says, 'Presently, I will ask pardon for you of my Lord; verily, he is the Pardoner, the Compassionate;'§ and as for Yûsuf, he was the Ma'na who is asked, and so he says, 'There is no reprimanding of you this day, God pardons you,|| and brings not in the authority of another, because he knows that he is the absolute Deity.'" And they lay it down that Mûsa was the Ism, and Yûshû'a, the Ma'na, and say, "As for Yûshû'a, the sun yielded to him, after he had commanded it, and obeyed his command; and does the sun yield to any one except its Lord?" And they lay it down that Suleimân was the Ism, and Âsaf, the Ma'na, and say, "Suleimân was impotent to cause to be present the throne of Belkîs, and Âsaf had power to do it, because Suleimân

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\* The Nusairis are here represented as holding that the Deity in name, the Ism, and the Deity in reality, the Ma'na, appear in every age.

† Seth.

‡ Its original.

§ See Kurân, Sur. xii. v. 92.

|| Ibid., v. 92.

was the Ism, and Âsaf was the Ma'na, the Potent, the Powerful.\* And they enumerate the Prophets and the Messengers, one by one, after the manner of this talk, up to the time of the Envoy of God,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! and so they say that Muhammed was the Ism, and 'Aly, the Ma'na; and they carry on the enumeration, in this order, through every age, up to our time. So much for this.

But it is a part of the substance of religion, and of the address, in their opinion, that instruction be given that 'Aly is the Lord; and Muhammed, the Veil; and Selmân, the Gate; and that these, in this order, have not ceased, and will not cease to be. And to the rhyming which is famous among them, of some of their extravagances, belongs the saying of one, the accursed, the disbeliever in God,—let him be exalted! "I testify that there is no Deity, except the Lion with bald temples and big belly;† and no Veil to him, except Muhammed the Just, the Faithful; and no Way to him, except Selmân the Possessor of power, the Steadfast." And in like manner, there are the five Solitaries,‡ and the twelve Nakîbs,§ whose names are made known, according to them, in their detestable books; for they cease not to proclaim the Lord, the Veil, and the Gate, in every revolution and period, forever, without end. Also, that the Iblîs of Iblîses was 'Omar Ibn El-Khattâb,—let God be gracious to him! and that the next in the rank of Iblîses was Abû Bekr, and then 'Othmân,—let God be gracious to them, and clear them, and elevate their rank above the sayings of the Heretics, and the profession of the self-devoting Extravagants! and they cease not, at any time, to exist, according to what they tell.

And there are ramifications and subdivisions to their doctrines, which come back to these fundamental principles mentioned.

\* See Kurân, Sur. xxvii. vv. 38-40. Âsaf is not named in the Kurân, but El-Beldhâwy allows the interpretation which attributes to him the miracle here referred to. See *Beidawî Commentarius in Coranum*, ed. H. O. Fleischer. vol. ii. p. 69.

† A well-known sobriquet of 'Aly, among the Muslims, is the *Lion of God*.

‡ Meaning, probably, Hujjahs without manifested Imâma. The document, referred to in the Introduction, which I have set aside for the present, teaches that the number of the Imâms is seven, while that of the Hujjahs is twelve, without, however, admitting the doctrine of the disappearance of the Imâm.

§ i. e. Administrators, a name given to the Hujjahs of the Imâma.

And this accursed sect has possessed itself of a great part of the country of Syria, so that they are known, noted, and declare themselves, as holding this doctrine; and all who have had intercourse with them, of the government-agents of the Muslims, and their learned men, and of the common people, also, up to the present time, have verified the state of the case in respect to them. For, during the time that the heretic Franks held possession of the country, it was unknown to many, how it stood with them; but after the days of Islām came,\* the state of the case in respect to them was discovered, and their departure from the right way was manifested, and the proof of them was very abundant.

So then, is it allowed to the Muslim to take a wife from among them, and is the eating of their sacrifices permitted, while the state of the case is such? And what is the sentence in respect to the cheese made from the curdled milk of one of their animals offered in sacrifice? And what is the sentence in respect to their vessels, and their garments, also? And is the burying of them among the Muslims allowed, or not? And is it allowed to employ any of them on the frontiers of the Muslims, and to entrust them to them? or, on the other hand, is it obligatory upon the prefect of command† to displace them, and to employ other men, of the trusty Muslims? And does he do wrong, when he commands to turn these off, and to employ others than them? or, on the other hand, is it allowed to him to grant delay, in case this is determined upon? And when he employs them, and afterwards displaces them, or does not displace them, is it allowed to him to invest the monies of the Public Treasury on their responsibility? And is the shedding of the blood of the said Nusairiyeh lawful? And is their property a thing decided upon as free to be taken, or not? And when the prefect of command makes war upon them, does God,—let him be exalted! aid him in the extinction of their false doctrine, and in the ejection of them from the fortresses of the Muslims, and in the warning of the people of Islām against intermarrying with them, and eating their sacrifices, and in the commanding of them

\* This refers to the victories of Salāh ad-dīn over the Christians, in the latter part of the twelfth century of our era. See *Vita of Rei Gostāz Salāhīnī*, ed. Albert Sabatier, pp. 26, 27.

† Meaning the provincial governor.

to fast, and pray, and in the preventing of them from making a show of their false religion? And is he who wars with the said Nusairiyeh counted as one who mounts a cavalier? and is his recompense like the recompense of him who mounts a cavalier on the frontiers, on the shore of the Sea,\* through fear of an invasion of the Franks? or has this one a greater recompense? And is it obligatory upon any one who knows the said persons, and their doctrines, to divulge what they are, and to help to do away with their false doctrine, and the proclaiming of the Imâm on their part, so that God,—let him be exalted! may perhaps regard their offspring and their children as Muslims? or, on the other hand, is it allowed to him to be unconcerned, and to let things take their course? And what is the recompense of him who labors assiduously for that, and is zealous for it, and intent upon it?

Have they spoken explicitly respecting these things, as assisted, and aided; and recompensed, if God,—let him be exalted! wills?"

The answer respecting this, in the hand-writing of the Sheikh Takky ed-dîn Ibn Yatmiyeh,—may God,—let him be exalted! be merciful to him! was as follows: "As for these people, denominated the Nusairiyeh, they and the other classes of the mystical Karâmâtah,† are more unbelieving than the Jews and the Christians; nay, more unbelieving than many idolaters; and the injury which they do to the community of Muhammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! is greater than the injury done by warring infidels, such as the infidels of the Turks and Franks, and others. For these meet the warring of the Muslims by affecting to be Shî'ah, while, in reality, they believe not in God, nor in his Envoy, nor in his Book, nor in any command, nor in any prohibition, nor in any reward, nor in any penalty, nor in any Garden, nor in any Fire, nor in any one of the Messengers preceding our Prophet Muhammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! nor in any of the former religions; nay, they take up the word of God and his Envoy, acknowledged among

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\* The Mediterranean.

† It seems to have been understood, when Ibn Yatmiyeh gave the following opinion, that the Nusairi were a class of the Karmatis.

the Muslims, to allegorize it agreeably to certain things which they are full of, pretending that they constitute the science of the hidden sense, such as those mentioned by the inquirer, and others not of this sort. For, as for them, they have no set limit as to that which they pretend of heresy respecting the names of the Creator, and his signs,\* and of perversion of the word of God,—let him be exalted! and the word of his Envoy, to the doing away of its positions, inasmuch as their intention is to deny the faith and the laws of Islâm, altogether; while at the same time they hold out that these things have their realities, known to them, which are such sort of things as the inquirer has mentioned, and such as their saying that the five prayers are the knowledge of their secrets; and the prescribed fasting, the concealment of their secrets; and the pilgrimage to the Ancient House,† the visiting of their sheikhs; and that the two hands of Abû Lahab‡ were Abû Bekr and 'Omar,—let God be gracious to them both! and that the Great Prophet, and the Evident Imâm, was 'Aly Ibn Abû Tâlib,—let God be gracious to him!

And they are the authors of some well-known charges, and some books composed, in hostility to Islâm and its people. And so, whenever it is in their power, they shed the blood of the Muslims, as they put to death, once upon a time, the pilgrims to Mekkeh, and cast them into Zem-zem, and, once upon a time, took off the Black Stone, which remained with them a long while, and put to death a multitude which only God,—let him be exalted! can compute, of the learned men of the Muslims, and their elders, and their princes, and their troops.§

And it is said that they have composed many books, and that what the inquirer mentions is in them, and other things. And the learned men of the Muslims have composed books disclosing their secrets, and have therein made evident the infidelity, and the Zendikism,|| and the heresy, which they profess, inasmuch as they are herein more

\* Meaning the verses of the Kurân.

† The Ka'beh.

‡ Abû Lahab, an uncle of Muhammed, was one of his most implacable enemies.

§ This refers to the taking of Mekkeh by the followers of 'Abû Tâlib, A. H. 32; i. e. A. D. 630-40. See *Memoires de l'iv. p. 2.*

|| Cf. Nagian.

unbelieving than the Jews, or than the Christians, or than those who worship idols.

And as for that which the inquirer has mentioned by way of describing them, it is a little out of the much of that which is known to learned men, as descriptive of them. And it is, among other things, known among them, that the Christians possessed themselves of the sea-coasts of Syria only by means of them, who are always in league with every enemy to the Muslims, and so were leagued with the Christians against the Muslims. And one of the greatest of calamities, in their opinion, was the Muslims coming off superior over the Tatars;\* and one of the greatest of their rejoicings was when the Christians,—and reverse is God's appointment,—possessed themselves of the frontiers of the Muslims, which ceased not to be under the power of the Muslims, as far as the island of Cyprus, (conquered by the Muslims in the khalifate of the Prince of the believers 'Othmân Ibn 'Affân,—let God be gracious to him! which Mu'âwiyeh, the son of Abû Sufyân,—let God be gracious to them both! conquered,†) up to the middle of the fourth century; when these combattants against God and his Envoy multiplied on the sea-coasts, and elsewhere, and so the Christians possessed themselves of the sea-board; and afterwards, owing to them, possessed themselves of the Holy City, and other places. For the circumstances of the case as respects them were among the most potent occasions thereof; after which, when God had raised up kings of the Muslims who warred in the way of God, such as Nûr ed-dîn the martyr, and Salâh ed-dîn, and their successors, and they had conquered the sea-coasts from the Christians, and those who were in league with them, and had also conquered the land of Egypt, they held possession of them about two hundred years, and were at peace with them and the Christians, for, until they had conquered the country, the Muslims made war upon them;

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\* Alluding, probably, to the discomfiture and repulse which the Mongols received, when they at length invaded Syria, in the beginning of the fourteenth century of our era. See *Abulfedâs Annales Muslimici*, ed. J. J. Reiske, Tome v. pp. 172, 2.

† *Abulfedâs* assigns this conquest of Cyprus by Mu'âwiyeh to the year of the Hijrah 24, i. e. A. D. 644. See *Abulfedâs Annales Muslimici*, Tome i. p. 304.

and within that period, the call of Islâm was published in the country of Egypt, and in that of Syria.\*

And they have certain appellations affixed to them among the Muslims. Sometimes, they are called the Mellâheh;† and sometimes they are called the Karâmâteh; and sometimes they are called the Nâshîyeh;‡ and sometimes they are called the Nusairîyeh; and sometimes they are called the Haramîyeh;§ and sometimes they are called the Muḥammareh.¶ And as for these names, some of them belong to them in common, and some are peculiar to some of their classes, just as the name formed from the fourth conjugation of *salama*,¶ and that formed from the fourth conjugation of *amana*,\*\* belongs to the Muslims in common, while some of them have names peculiar to them, either by parentage, or by country, or on account of something else.†

And he [Ibn Yatmiyeh] comments upon their purposes, at some length, as follows: "So then, they consist of those who are outwardly Râfidheh,†† and inwardly pure infidels. And the truth of the matter in respect to them is, that they believe not in any one of the Prophets and the Messengers, neither in Nûh, nor in Ibrâhîm, nor in Mûsa, nor in 'Isa, nor in Muḥammed,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! nor in any of the Books of God, sent down from above, neither in the Law, nor in the Gospel, nor in the Psalms, nor in the Distinguisher. And they do not maintain that the world had a Creator who created it, nor that there is any religion of his which he commands, nor that he is provided with any state of being in which he recompenses men for their actions, other than the present state. And sometimes, they base their profession of belief in accordance with the doctrines of the Philosophers, naturalistic, or deistic, upon that of the Mutakâshshifeh,‡‡ and

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\* This statement of the relations existing between the Nusairis and the Christians in Syria, from the middle of the tenth century of our era down into the fourteenth century, the period when Ibn Yatmiyeh himself lived, can not fail to be regarded with interest, as it is believed to be quite new.

† i. e. Party of the Sellers of salt, probably. I think it has been said by some one, that, at the present day, the Nusairis come to Beirût to sell salt.

‡ i. e. Party of the Inebriates. § See note § p. 279.

¶ See note ¶ p. 273.

¶ Meaning the name El-Muslimân.

\*\* Meaning the name El-Mumînîn.

†† See note † p. 275.

‡‡ i. e. Party of the Squalid. The Brâhman, Hermita, or Buddhist Mendicants, are probably referred to here.



that of the Magians who worship fire; and to that add a mingling of Râfidhism, and falsify, reporting, for instance, as a tradition handed down from the Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! that he said, “The first thing that God created was the Intelligence, and he said to it, ‘Approach,’ and it approached, and he said to it, ‘Retire,’ and it retired;” and perverting the Prophet’s expressions to such a degree that one of them writes, “The name of God,—let him be exalted! is on the lower part of his legs.”\* And they deny what the Prophets have communicated.

And the learned men of the Muslims are already agreed that, as for such as these, intermarriage with them is not allowed, so that a man may not use one of them as his concubine, nor take one of them as his wife; and that their sacrifices are not to be partaken of. And, as for cheese made from their curdled milk, learned men say two things which are well known, respecting it, as in respect to other curdled milk of a dead animal, and the curdled milk of the Magians, and the curdled milk of the Franks, of whom it is said that they do not slay victims for sacrifice. The doctrine, then, of Abû Hanîfeh,—let God be gracious to him!—and I give praise in making one of the two citations,—is that this cheese is allowed, because the curdled milk becomes not dead with the death of the beast, and the impure receptacle in the belly affects it not with a pollution. And the doctrine of Mâlik and of Ish-Shâfi’y,—and I give praise in making the other citation,—is that this cheese is impure, because, in their opinion, the curdled milk is impure, for the milk of a dead animal and its curdled milk are, in their opinion, impure; and of whomsoever the sacrifice may not be partaken of, his sacrifice is like a dead animal. And as for their vessels, and their garments, they are like the vessels of the Magians, and the garments of the Magians, according to what is known of the doctrines of the Imâms; and *The Sahih*,† on that point, says that “their vessels should not be used, except after they have been

\* May not the saying here attributed to the Nusairis, be an imitation of what is said of the “Word of God” in Rev. xix. 16, “And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, King of kings and Lord of lords!”

† Probably *The Sahih* of Abû-Bukhârî, which is the most esteemed of the collections of authentic traditions bearing this name.

washed; for their sacrifices are dead animals; and so, of necessity, if any part of what they cook of their sacrifices reaches those of their vessels which are made use of, they are thereby polluted." But as for the vessels which one is not obliged to regard as rendered impure, they may be used without any washing, such as vessels for milk, in which they leave not their bouillons, and which they wash before putting milk into them. And 'Omar,—let God be gracious to him! indeed, performed his ablutions with the jar of a Christian woman, respecting the impurity of which he doubted; so that he did not judge it to be impure, by doubting. And it is not allowed to bury them in the burial-places of the Muslims; nor to pronounce the benediction upon any of them who die. For God,—let him be exalted! forbade his Prophet,—let the divine benediction and peace be to him! to pronounce the benediction upon hypocrites, such as 'Abdallah Ibn Ubeiy, and those about him, who made a show of praying, and alms-giving, and fasting, and warring on the side of the Muslims, not making openly any declaration which was at variance with the religion of the Muslims, but keeping such difference secret. Says God,—let him be exalted! "And thou mayest not pronounce the benediction upon any one of them who dies, ever, and thou mayest not preside over his burial; verily, they disbelieve in God and his Envoy, and die as wicked persons."\* How shall it be, then, with these, who, together with Zendikism and hypocrisy, make a show of infidelity and heresy? And as for the employing of such as these on the frontiers of the Muslims, and in their fortresses, or among their troops, that is a great error, equal to one's employing wolves to pasture sheep. For they are the most treacherous of men toward the Muslims, and the pre-fects of their commands, and the most eager of men for the

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\* Kurân, Sur ix. v 85. In El-Reidhâwy's commentary on this verse we read, "It is reported by tradition that 'Abdallah Ibn Ubeiy called for the Prophet of God, during his illness, and after he had entered where he was, he asked him to forgive him, and that he would wrap him for burial in the covering which was next his body, and would pronounce the benediction over him. So, after he was dead, he [the Prophet] sent his tunic that he might be wrapt in it for burial, and went out to pronounce the benediction over him; whereupon the verse came down, etc." See *Beidhawî Comn. in Coran.*, vol. 1, p 396, and compare *Mohammed der Prophet*, von Dr. Gustav Weil, s 283

corruption of the religion of Islâm and the empire of Muhammed. And they are worse than the lurker about in the army; for, as for him who lurks about, he has an aim which concerns either the commander of the army, or the enemy; while their aims concern our religion, and its Prophet, and its rites, and its kings, and its learned men, and its common people, and its people of note. And they are the most eager of men to entrust the fortresses to the enemies of the Muslims, and to alienate the troops from the prefect of command, and to withdraw them from obedience to him. So then, it is obligatory upon the prefects of commands to displace them from the rolls of fighting men, whether in a fortress, or elsewhere than in a fortress, while the harm they do in a fortress is most serious; and that they employ, instead of them, believing men, who hold to the religion of Islâm, and the admonition of God, and his Envoy; and the Imâms of the Muslims. And when they make a show of conversion, respecting that there is a dispute among learned men. So then, those who admit their conversion, bind them to the observance of the law of Islâm, and impose upon them tribute of their effects; and those who admit it not, reject their ranking as of their class, so that whatever is theirs reverts to the Public Treasury. But, as for these, whenever they are taken up, they make a show of conversion, inasmuch as one accommodates his doctrine to piety and the hiding of what is the case with them; and there are those among them who are acquainted with their religion, and those who are not so. So that the way, respecting that, is to look out for what is the case with them; and that they be not suffered to congregate; and that they be not empowered to bear arms,—not even if they make a part of the fighting men; and that they be bound to the observance of the laws of Islâm, namely, the five prayers, and the reading of the Kurân; and that some one stay among them, who may teach them the religion of Islâm, and interpose between them and their teachers. And let them be prohibited from making a part of the cavalry, and of the bearers of arms, and of those clad in the coats of mail which the fighting men wear; and they may not stay among the troops, just as neither a Jew nor a Christian may stay among the troops. And let them be bound to the observance of the laws of Islâm.

And it is not allowed to any one to leave them at the extremity of the frontiers.

This is according to that which God,—let him be exalted! says, namely, “Do ye regard the giving of water to the pilgrim to Mekkeh, and the visiting of the Mosque, as ye regard one’s believing in God and the day which is to come, and warring on the side of God? They are not alike in God’s estimation, and God directs not wicked people. Those who believe, and leave their homes, and war on the side of God, staking their effects and their lives, are highest in degree in God’s esteem; and as for those, they are those who are saved. Their Lord announces to them the gladness of mercy from him, and grace; and there are gardens for them, in which is enduring pleasure, where they shall abide forever. With God is great recompense.”\* And God,—glory be to him! is the Knowing One.

## II.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. Praise be to God, who confirms every thing by his unity; to the glory of whose reverence every thing bows; who embraces by science the thing in every thing;† who is, and before whom was not any thing; and who created out of nothing things created; and the glory of whose dominion nothing resembles, so that not any thing is too much for him, if he wills it, and who is the cause of every thing; and who dispenses with every thing, and whom nothing dispenses with; whom all things need, and from whom and with whom are all things; from whom every thing emanates, and who emanates not from any thing; and who is not the general of any thing special, and who comes not under any thing; and by reason of whom nothing subsists, and to the detriment of whom nothing changes; and to the degree of whose essence there is no reaching for any perception, or any conjecture; who is the Hidden of the hidden, and the Mystery of mystery; from whose unity emanated a sole Amr. And to it was given for a covering the

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\* Kurân, Sur ix vv. 19-22.

† Meaning, who knows the essence of every thing.

*Káf* and the *Nún*,\* comprehending that which was, and that which is, and that which is to be. So then, that is his Word, and his effusion, and his out-pouring, and his science, and the cause of that which is produced by him, and his perfection, and the medium of his producing, and the means of his creating, and the manifester of his declaring,† and the exhibiter of his superior power, and a *hiyûly*‡ to his command, and a form to his volition, like as the *Irâdeh* is a *hiyûly* to his *Amr*, and a form to his *Meshiyeh*;§ and as will is a *hiyûly* to volition, and a form to the intellect.

And so emanates from his sole *Amr* the first producer, the *Sâbik*,|| the most perfect receiver, the simple substance, the apprehender, the comprehender, the suited to the appropriation of perfection, the creator by no reinforcement,¶ and the correspondent of the Eternal One, and the Noble Root, the Primitive Light, and the Universal Intelligence, the improver of things existing, the shedder forth of things created, the producer of things produced, the preceeder of things made, the divine in essence, the conjoined with felicities, the abiding, the constant, the medium between the Creator and his reinforcement pertaining to things caused, the made one with the Word, the sharer in the divine majesty, the prior by essence and rank, the exempt from finiteness and defect, the place of the act of creation, and the seat of the act of production, the shedder forth upon the *Tâly*\*\* as to that which it receives of the out-pouring of the Highest, the lofty, the form of forms, the originator of creatures, the governor of ranks, the performer of wonders, and the manifester of extraordinaries, the complete as to excellencies, the finisher of the first

\* By the *Káf* and the *Nún* is meant the creative mandate كُن, *be thou*.

† Meaning the declaration of his mind and will by revelation

‡ The Greek *ὑλη*, matter without form. Of course, both this word and "form" are here used metaphorically

§ By the *Irâdeh*, or the Will, and the *Meshiyeh*, or the Volition, seem here to be intended the *Sâbik* and the *Tâly*, presently to be mentioned, of which the former emanates directly from the *Amr*, while the latter emanates from it. The same application of names is found in the books of the Druzes. See De Sacy's *Exposé de la Religion des Druzes*, Tome II. pp. 21-2.

|| i. e. Preceder.

¶ Meaning, without any aiding from a higher power.

\*\* i. e. Follower. See below.

five,\* the uniter of things allied, the separator of things which differ. So then, it is the first of substances, and the second of manifesters, the necessary by its Cause, the competent by its divinity, the living, the emulous in science, the potent, the ruler, the prohibiter, the commander, the shedder forth, the receiver, the made, the maker, the perfected, the perfecter, the lover, the beloved for its essence, the exerciser of justice, the joyous with its delights, the qualified with the most perfect of attributes, the designated by the most excellent of epithets, which is set forth in the attributes and the names,† and which is named Fate. So then, it is the fortune of fortunes, and the pen of that which is written, and the hiyûly of every hiyûly, and the place of science, and the supreme and primitive nature, which receives effusion from its Cause, and is let out, and so becomes the shedder forth of the lights of his Word, and takes its stand with his taking his stand, and abides with his abiding, by virtue of a continual effusion of reinforcements,‡ from eternity to eternity, endless, without measure, and incomputable. And its receiving that which is not an end§ postulates that it is a receiver in order to spreading, in order that the acted upon may be converted into an actor, and that the Intelligence, and that which is objective to the Intelligence, may become an intelligent being, and that the height of its potency may be manifested, and the light of its wisdom.

And so emanates, in accordance with its volition, in order to the continuance of the perfection of its felicity, through the fairness of its forming, an active substance, congruous with its substance, which is named the Universal Soul, and the Veritable Spirit, which is raised up by it as a receiver of its effusion and its impresses, improving by the succession of its benefits and its lights, prepared for the reception of impress, naked of forms. So then, it is the

\* Meaning the first five emanations, namely, the Amr, the Sâbik, the Tâly, the Primitive Hiyûly, and the Circumambient. See below.

† Namely, those applied to God by the Muslims.

‡ Meaning reinforcements from the Amr, received by the Sâbik, and transmitted to the Prophets of every period, and to the seven Imâms of each, as their representatives, by virtue of which the Deity himself is conceived of as taking his stand, and abiding, in them.

§ Namely, the reinforcement from the Amr.

verity of verities, and the quintessence of things recondite, which is designated as the Tâly to that Sâbîk, the essence of which is a tablet for the inscribing of the letters of the pen of the Intelligence, a root to that which is beside it of branches, and a branch to that root, a place of beginning to the lettings out of things, and a cause of the measurements of things which have parts, and a medium between the first and the last, and the inward and the outward, the place of coming out of that which is potential to the open field of actuality, the sojourning-place of lights, the excellencies of science and justice,\* a power able to manifest sciences in that which is caused, a receiver of the impress of its Cause, an actor, making its impresses upon that which is caused, pervading through all existence, reinforcing, by effusion and aiding, the rest of the Enclosures,† which manifests things subtile, and forms things gross, and disperses through the world its forces, and manifests its ideas in every genus and species and person.

And so emanates therefrom the Primitive Hiyûly, the receiver, essentially, of the forms of things created, upon which the Soul pours out that which it receives of the impress of its Cause, and through the medium of which it perpetuates the perfection of its excellence, and which, by the force of receptivity, and the perfection of preparation for forms, it causes to become the distant three.‡ For, pervading nature and coursing forms are manifested in things whole and things of parts, and things high and things low; and the Hiyûly thereby becomes an absolute body, and the force of the Soul is attached to it with attachment, and so are parted off from it the higher envelopes, and made out of it the lower bodies: while attractive, propensive force manifests motion of volition.§

\* Meaning that the divine attributes of knowledge and justice are tabernacled in it.

† Enclosures of the Deity. This name seems to include, in the Ismâ'îlian system, all created existences. See p. 306.

‡ By which is meant the three classes of existence farthest removed from the Deity, namely, Minerals, Plants, and Animals. See below.

§ The name of "the higher envelopes" includes the Stellar Sphere, and the seven Palaces, presently to be mentioned, while the four Globes, of Ether, Air, Water, and gross Earth, together with Minerals, Plants, and Animals, which are also presently to be mentioned, constitute what are called "the lower bodies." It is evidently the Universal Soul of which all these are

And so the Circumambient is fashioned in the most excellent of fashions, and ordered in the most perfect of states. So then, it is the cause of sensible motions, and the manifest of the forces of the Soul, and the reconditeness of the ideas of the Holy One, the limiter of regions, the uniter of things simple and things composite, a cause of place, an actualizer of time, which is enthroned in the evenness of the Merciful, and the place of the loftiness of the envelopes, the basis of the regulator of the day, the compriser of every cause and every effect.\*

Afterwards, is let out the Stellar Sphere,† with the fixed stars, the seat of power, which compasses the earth and the heavens, which is the standing-place of forms, and the lunar mansions, and the zodiacal signs, which is denominated the heaven of the degrees of the zodiacal signs, the actualizer of the great periods, the mover of that which is beside it of envelopes.

Afterwards, rises to view the Elevated Palace, the capacious structure, the vestibule, the hall of Keiwân, who is the superior over beings, the master of abstinence and chieftainship, the educator of people of thought and ingenuity,

conceived to be incorporations, differing only in grade; for they are said to come into existence in consequence of the union of the Soul with "absolute body." But by the inclination of the Soul to absolute body is first developed, according to this system, motion of volition. It follows from this, that all the emanations previously mentioned are to be considered as involuntary.

\* From this description it is evident that the Circumambient is Finite Space.

† This is the outer concave of the ancient Ptolemaic system of astronomy, as appears from what follows in our text, taken in connection with the following passage from an astronomical work of El-Farghâny, an Arabic astronomer probably of the ninth century of our era. "So then, we say that the number of the spheres which compass all the motions of the stars, is eight; of which seven belong to the seven planets, and the eighth is the highest, belonging to the fixed stars, which is the sphere of the zodiacal signs. And the figure of these spheres is like the figure of globes one within another. And so the smallest of them is that which is the nearest of them to the earth, which is the globe of the Moon, and the second belongs to 'Utârid, [Mercury,] and the third, to Ez-Zaharah, [Venus,] and the fourth, to the Sun, and the fifth, to El-Murrikh, [Mars,] and the sixth, to El-Mushtary, [Jupiter,] and the seventh, to Zuhâ, [Saturn,] and the eighth, to the fixed stars. And so, as for the sphere of the fixed stars, which is the sphere of the zodiacal signs, on the one hand, its centre is the centre of the earth; and as for the centres of the seven globes which belong to the planets, they deviate from the centre of the earth, variously." See *Ferganensis Elementa Astronomica*, ed. J. Golius, pp. 45-6.



the presider over cultivated spots and sown fields, the sheikh of the overflowing, and the lords of groups of houses, the letter out of ages by his rotation, the master of handicrafts, the black as to his colors.

Afterwards, the Second Palace, the solid as to foundations, of which the defenses hide Birjîs, who is the manifest by science and research, the aider of the masters of the luminous and the enlightening, namely the Lights, the shedder forth, whose beauty gives light, the powerful in the house of the King of the invisible realm of heaven, the ordainer of kings and rulers, the manifester of nights and days, the cause of articles\* by his movements, and the regulator of fundamentals by his reposings, who puts in motion the great enlightener, the most potent master of revolution.

Afterwards, the Fifth Palace, the palanquin of the fair Nâhaid, and the sitting-place of the bright Zaharah, who is the star of the people of gaiety and ordered song with music, the sweetheart of the sparkling orbs, the adorning of women and girls, the belle of the celestial spheres, the tempter of the king who presides over love and mirthfulness, as for accidents; and as for colors, the white.

Afterwards, the Sixth Palace, the shop of the devices of 'Uṭārid, who is involved in every thing emanating, and every thing coming into existence, the sage, the geometriician, and the sanctified ascetic, the master of paintings and writings, who takes care of the niceties of the arts, the compiler of diwâns, the educator of artificers and artizans, the mingled, the colored, the refined, the varied.

Afterwards, the Seventh Palace, the hippodrome of Jaulân, who is the second enlightener, the hastener in journeyings, without delay, the master of the fashionings of light, the star of the camel-tram and couriers, the colorer of things, who has command of striping and reddenning, who makes months and years to be, the agent of properties and powers, the befriender as to supplies, the clothier, who takes in hand the concerns of common men.

And after the seven homogeneous Palaces,† come other seven heterogeneous, which are the four Corner-stones, and their intermediates, the circumscribing three.

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\* Meaning articles of belief

† The spheres, or concaves, of the seven planets are referred to under this general name. We have proof of this and a most important help to the understanding of the descriptions above given of these several Palaces, as well

The first, then, of the Corner-stones is the Globe of Ether, which is the heaven of the shooting stars, and the station of the possessors of tails and flowing manes, the highest of the elements, and the agent of heats in substances.

Next, the second, is the Globe of Air, with clouds and rains, the place of convulsion for the convulsion of vapor, the agent of thunder-clouds, and thunder-bolts, and mists,

as a clear indication of the source from which the ideas here expressed were derived, in Esh-Shahrestāny's account of the Sabians. This author, after characterizing Sabism as a system inculcating assiduity in action, rather than a religious disposition, goes on to speak of its followers as those who hold to "Spiritual Existences, pure and holy, in substance, act, and state," which are necessary mediators between man and the glorious Creator, in respect to all benefits received from him; so that man must cultivate intercourse with them, by "assiduity in action, austerity, and withdrawal from the mundanities of passions." He also tells us that the Sabians hold these Spiritual Existences to be "the mediating occasions, in respect to production, and causing to exist and alteration from one state to another, and the causing of created things to tend from a beginning to a perfection." After this he adds: "Some of them are the regents of the seven planets in their spheres, which are their Palaces, and to every Spiritual there is a Palace, and to every Palace, a sphere. And the relation of a Spiritual to that Palace which is appropriate to it, is the relation of the soul to the body; so that it is its lord, and its regent, and its attendant. And they name the Palaces lords; and often they name them fathers, and the elements mothers, and so the action of the Spirituals is to cause them to move by a peculiar power, in order that from their motions actualities may arise within natural properties and the elements, and therefrom compoundings, and temperaments in composites, upon which follow corporeal forces, and to which are superadded spiritual souls, like the species of plants and the species of animals." He also distinguishes the Spirituals of the Sabian system as "universal" in their "impressions," to which are to be referred the distinctions of species, and "particular," to which are to be referred the distinctions of one individual of a species from another; and as exerting their influences either in the upper air, in the heavens, in the lower atmosphere, and on the earth, or every where, in all existences, alike. See Esh-Shahrestāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects*, pp 203-5. This statement by Esh-Shahrestāny makes it quite evident what is intended by the Palaces and the beings occupying them, described in our text, and also throws light upon the union of these Palaces with the four Corner-stones, or elements, presently to be mentioned as the immediate occasion of the generation of Minerals, Plants and Animals. As to the portraiture of the several regents of the planets, given in our text, however, I am unable to show that they have their analogies in any other system, although I do not doubt that such will be found to be the case. Some of the names which these regents bear in the text may be seen, by reference to our extract from El-Farghāny's astronomical work, to be those which are ordinarily given to some of the planets in Arab astronomy. But others differ. It is deserving of notice, also, that, although seven Palaces are spoken of in our text, the third and fourth, in the order of their being "let out," namely that of the Sun and that of Mars, are omitted in the description.

and distant thunderings, the uniter of colds in freezing cold, and the life of every thing animate which possesses form.

And the third is the Globe of Water, the giver of moisture to things, the image of science, the all-embracing, by means of which every thing living is constituted, the manifest by the ocean, the filled with substance, the pourer, the profuse.

The fourth is the Globe of gross Earth, the centre of every subtile circumambient,\* the guardian of dryness in composites, the binder of separating parts.

The first two are light, and the last two, heavy; and as for each two of them, an intermediate determines them, that they may not exceed their bounds.

And after the fathers and the mothers have moved with the three motions, and natural properties incline towards being awakened, and the three generators appear, and the males are filled with the females, the first of things generated is Minerals, which are compounded of the Corner-stones, of which the lowest is sand, and the highest, small pearls; and as for the second, it is Plants, of which the lowest is the *kushû*,† and the highest, the tall palm; and the third is Animals, of which the lowest is the intestinal worm, and the highest, man.

So then, these are conjoined substances, and a material not discovered,‡ spreading itself from the apogee of the Holy One to the perigee of genus, coursing through the worlds, appearing in things which rise to view, and hiding itself in things obscured. In twenty-eight places of manifestation is the Perfect in number, which are three groups of seven,§ successive as to effusion, and the reinforcements

\* See note † p. 303.

† *Cuscuta epithymum*, a parasitic climbing plant, without roots, and without leaves, but bearing small seeds at its extremities. See *Ebn Bathar's Heil- und Nahrungs-mittel*, übersetzt von Dr. Joseph v. Southamer, Bd. ii. s. 380.

‡ Meaning, not discovered from the Deity. See p. 299.

§ These three groups are as follows 1. the Deity, the Amr. the Sâbûk, the Tâly, the Primitive Hiyûly, the Circumambient, and the Stellar Sphere; 2. the seven Palaces; and 3. the Four Corner-stones, and the three classes of generated existences, Minerals, Plants, and Animals. Consequently, "the Perfect in number" denotes some absolute numerical principle pervading all things. It can be nothing else than Unity of number. The *ἐν ἀρχῇ πάντων* of the Pythagoreans may be referred to as a parallel, provided only that simultaneousness of existence is ascribed to this principle of Unity and the Deity, for it is said of the Deity, above, that he "is, and before him was not any thing." See p. 299.

in which the light of the Divine Word spreads itself, of which the form is perfectness, and the ideas are consummate.\* And so it appears, in every place of manifestation, in the most elevated of impersonations; and them it causes to acknowledge the way of return and deliverance, and instructs in the ideas of mystery and witness,† and commands to obey and worship, and forbids to pass limits. Blessed, then, be that which separates and unites, and which is conversant with that which is made! And let gratitude be to our friends, and praise to our superiors, for the bestowal of acquirements of knowledge, and gifts of things subtle, and the knowledge of quality, and that which is qualified, and the qualifier. And in him who knows, who is assured, there is that which apprehends every idea.

These things, O my signors and my brethren, are the verity of my knowledge, and the philosophy of my essence and my quality,‡ and my circuit of my Ka'beh, and my stopping on my 'Arafah,§ and the hidden sense of my pilgrimage, and the idea of my visitation of the sacred spots, and the finishing of my endeavor for the Šafâ of my Choice, and the Marweh of my Fortitude,|| and my prostration to the Muḥammedan Kibleh and the Kureishite Ka'beh, and the 'Aly-presence, and the Ilâshimite Corner-stones, and the Fâtîmite Domes, and the Ismâ'îlian Imâms, and the Suns of the West and East,—from them and to them let there be the best of peace-giving, and the most perfect of salutation!

“And thy Lord said by inspiration to the bee, ‘Take thou of the mountains for homes, and of the trees, and of what they rear for shelter, and afterwards eat thou of every fruit; so pursue thou the ways of thy Lord.’ That makes

\* See note † p. 301.

† Meaning the knowledge of God as he is, or, allegorically, acquaintance with the rank and power of the Imâm. See p. 318.

‡ Meaning what is essence and quality to me.

§ Stopping on the hill 'Arafah, a short distance from Mekkeh, is one of the ceremonies of pilgrimage to the holy city.

|| There is a play on words, here, which cannot be rendered in English. The arduous ceremony of the walk to and fro between Šafâ and Marweh is alluded to; but the idea of the person speaking is, that what he has said is in the way of sincere endeavor to be the object of the friendship of the Imâm, and to be bold in his service.

to come out from within her a drink varied in its colors, in which there is healing for men. Verily, therein is a sign to people who consider."\*

The Memorial of the acquirements of knowledge by the friend of God Ibrâhîm,† of whose spirit was Isma'il,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Blessed Belief.

Praise be to God who has directed us to his religion, the right, and brought us to his way, the straight, and elected us to the creed of our father Ibrâhîm, and freely bestowed it upon us! for it is the ancient doctrine which is the doctrine of Isma'il the noble. And let the benedictions of God, and his peace, and his salutations, and his honoring, be to the Possessors of pure elements, and pervading envelopes, and angelic souls, and holy intelligences!‡ I believe as they who profess the unity, believe, and hold to that which they who know, hold to, and I declare as they who believe, declare, that the world with all its parts, from the roof to the ground, is originated, potential; and that that which is originated is that which is potential, needing an originator who exercises preference; and that he is God, the Eternal, the Necessary, the essentially Rich, the Self-subsistent, whom things potential take the place of, and are necessary to, whom we qualify with the qualificings of hallowing and exalting, and acquit ourselves of the profession of vacuity,§ as well as of anthropomorphism.

And I believe that the Prophets of God ~~are so~~ of right, and veritably Nâtiqs, whose testimony is confirmed by intellectual proofs, and decisive arguments; and that the Leaves of the Prophets, and their Books, sent down to them, are the word of God,—let him be magnified and glorified! and

\* Kurân, Sur. xvi. vv. 70-1. This passage seems to be used in an allegorical sense, as a recommendation of diligent seeking after hidden knowledge.

† This piece and the two following are called "Memorials" of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, under the pretense that they contain that which is kindred to the teachings of these earlier Prophets.

‡ A description of the Imâms, as made up of the four elements in their purity, pervaded by influences of the celestial spheres, with special aidings from the Amr, through the Sâbiq and the Tâly.

§ See note | p. 276.

as for the letter of his revelation, that there is no vagueness in it, and no uncertainty, and no defect, and no fault; and that the angels are they who are the favorite servants of God, who are the Karûbis and the Spirituals,\* and that the religions to which the Nations call, during the periods, and the laws which they establish for the people of the ages, are correct as to terms, truthful as to ideas, obligatory as to the following of them, obvious for their utility, the denier of which, during their time, is an infidel, and the opposer of which, during their season, is an obdurate wretch; and as for the law of our period, that it is the Muhammedan law, and that the religion of this our time is the religion of Ahmed.

And I believe that the punishment of the sepulchre and its comfort are a reality; and that Munkir and Nakir are a reality; and the gathering, and the blast,† and the resurrection, a reality; and the Garden and the Fire, a reality, and the Book, and the reckoning, and the Sirât,‡ and the Balance, a reality; and the coming to an end, and the returning to God, a reality; and the seeing of him, a reality; and the allowed and the forbidden, a reality; and that the commanding of acts of obedience and services, is a thing admitted;§ and the prohibition of acts of disobedience and offences, a thing objective to the intellect; and that prayer, and alms, and fasting, and pilgrimage, and holy warfare,\* and justice, and beneficence, and the giving to a relative, are obligatory on the believers; and that the commission of adultery, and the practice of usury, and obscenity, and depravity, and the killing without right, and games, and things intoxicating, are forbidden to the Muslims.

And I believe that the Jinns are existent, and the Sheitâns not unreal; and that Iblîs and his troop, the cursed, are the friends of infidels and hypocrites.

And I believe that there is no perfection except by the knowledge of oneself; and no elevation except by making sure the sciences of religion; and no deliverance except by sincerity as to the articles of faith; and no rest except

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\* See note † p 304. The Karûbis are Cherubim.

† Meaning the blast of the trumpet to rouse the dead to final judgment.

‡ The bridge over Hell.

§ Meaning a thing which the reason allows.

in the renunciation of conveniences, and the taking to utilities; and no knowledge except by the profession of unity; and no clean purification, and no attaining, except by perseverance; and no coming up except by the Imâm; and no obedience except by the friends; and no disobedience except by following the adversaries; and no direction, and no being a Muslim, except by submission to the rightful Imûms; and no faith except by love to the pure people of the Family;\* and no religion except the religion of the Lords of disclosure and allegory; and no belief except the belief of the Masters of wisdom and the letter of revelation; and no doctrine except the doctrine of the Dâ'is of Isma'il.

These things are the cream of my doctrine, and my belief on my setting out and my return; and the refined gold of my faith, and the credence of my heart. And therewithal I submit to God in my inmost soul, and my open doing, and hope for the end of the attainment of things desired. And I am fixed in what my tongue has uttered in the presence of my chiefs and my brethren. And we read, "Upon those who believe, and who perform good actions, there rests no guilt in respect to that which they eat, provided they stand in awe, and believe, and perform good actions, and after that stand in awe, and believe, and after that stand in awe, and do virtuously; and God loves those who do virtuously."†

The Memorial of the talker with God Mûsa,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Allegorical Sense of the Blessed Belief. "He it is who has sent down to thee the Book, of which some verses are explicit, which are the mother of the Book, and others not precise. So then, as for them in whose hearts is wandering, they follow that which is not precise, pertaining to it, from desire to seduce, and from desire to allegorize it; while no one knows its allegorical sense, except God and those who are firmly established in science, who say, 'We believe in it; all is

\* The family of Muhammed.

† Kurân, Sur. v. v. 94.

from our Lord; and only the possessors of hearts reflect."\* I hold fast to the Possessor of majesty and omnipotence, and I fortify myself in the King of the visible realm and the invisible, and I entrust myself to the Living One, who dies not, our Deity, and the Deity of those who discover to us, and our Lord, and the Lord of our superiors, and our Friend, and the Friend of our friends. And I acknowledge that there is no outward without its inward; and no form without its perfect idea; and no rind without its core; and no Light without its Veil;† and no Knowing One without his Gate; and no law without its way; and no way without its verity; and no verity without its letter of revelation; and no letter of revelation without its allegorical sense; and no allegorical sense except to the firmly established in science; and no being firmly established in science except to the allegorizers.

So then, as for our saying God, its allegorical sense is the Word. And the allegorical sense of the world is a place for manifesting the divine greatness. And as for the coming into existence, it is the posteriority of the caused to the cause, and the latter's preceding the former, agreeably to convincing proofs, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, with reference to order, by argument from order of time, not order of place. And as for potentiality, it is the essence of the being in need, and the ordaining of the realization of the relation of cause to effect. And "the essentially Necessary" implies the absurdity of defining by that which is devoid of quality. And as for the Ma'na's‡ being established as pre-existent and eternal, and the hallowing of the self-existent Necessary, and the exempting of him from his qualities, it is that we abstract from him every thing which occurs to our minds, and is fixed in our perceptions; and we know that

\* Kurán, Sur. iii v. 5. El-Beidhawy explains the expression "mother of the Book," in this passage, to mean "its root, that to which the rest of it amounts." This orthodox commentator is obliged to admit that an allegorical sense pertaining to some verses of the Kurán, is here recognized, but he claims that there are points left indefinite because God reserves to himself the knowledge of them, and that man has no concern with the allegorical sense, except where it becomes necessary to lean upon it with reference to faith or practice. See *Beidhawy Comm. in Coraunum*, vol. 1. pp. 145-6.

† The Veil of the Ismâ'ilian system seems to be the human person of the Imâm, while the so called Light is the veritable Imâm himself.

‡ i. e. The Idea, the absolute Deity.



he is above the reach of the choicest of our perceptions and our conjectures; and his unreachèd qualities take us out of the ditch of sentimentalizing and the profession of vacuity, while they save us from the fetter of anthropomorphism and assimilation.

And as for prophecy and communication by message, they are the manifestation of the Word in the Veil, and the setting up of the Guide, and the Conductor, and the Gate, to the open way of truth and the path of rectitude. And as for the Prophet, he is the informer with regard to fundamentals, calling to that to which the Envoy\* calls. And as for the Envoy, he is the Nâtik, calling to the two Roots, the Sâbik and the Tâly, and the three Branches, the Jedd and the Fath and the Khiyâl,† which make the higher five, comprising perfection. The Nâtik is an outward, of which the inward is the Tâly, to which latter it pertains to train and manage, while the opposite is the case in regard to composing and putting together. And as for the confirmation of communication by message, by means of proof and analogy, it is the allegorical sense of the Asâs,‡ and the manifestation to the intelligent among men of ideas composed by the Nâtik. And as for the sending down of the Leaf and the Book, and Jebrîl's bringing the Address, it is the coming of aid to the Nâtik from the Sâbik, and its directing with reference to composing, and its assisting in the writing out. The embodiment of form objective to the intellect is necessary; and the Address is the verification of things determined by the intellect. And as for the favorite angels, they are the knowing, active forces in the upper and lower worlds. And as for their glorifying night and day, and their ascribing of dominion for people of the faith, with asking of forgiveness, it is the continuing of those forces to order the succession of the Amrs, and the manifestation of the properties thereof, in their known place, without intermission.§ And the Karûbis are the forces

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\* Muhammed.

† The Jedd, or the Primogenitor, the Fath, or the Opening, and the Khiyâl, or the Image, are here, evidently, used as names of the Primitive Hiyûly, the Circumambient, and the Stellar Sphere

‡ See note \* p. 266.

§ What is here allegorized will be best understood by another quotation from Feh-Shahrastâny's statement of the belief of the Sabians in regard to the so called Spirituals. He says, "And they create in hallowing and glorifying, not disobeying God as to that which he commands, and doing that which they

which support the Nāṭiks in composing the letter of revelation. And the Spirituals are the forces which belong to the Aśās in the disclosure of the allegorical sense. And as for religions and laws, they are the institutions of divine intelligences for the good estate of earthly bodies, in order to the perfecting of the sciences of human souls; which are six, while seven is the number of the days of the week.\*

And as for the sepulchre, it is corporeal form and the enveloping Palaces. And as for the punishment of the sepulchre, it is the impression made upon the soul by the shackle of that which comes to it of Hiyāly-forms, opposed to its natural properties; which is in the way of fettering. And the comfort of the sepulchre is the loss of the impression made upon it thereby, and its taking refuge in the verification of the apprehensions pertaining to its Palace-like instruments;† which is by the power of abstraction. And as for the fixing by Munkir and Nakir, it is the mastery of the forces of passionate desire and anger. And as for the gathering, it is the hastening of souls in pursuing the route of their impediments, and their decamping to the rear-guard of their instruments,‡ and the conclusion from premises of creatures, in respect to their days, and the verity of the idea of a day which calls all men to their Inām. And as for the awakening, it is the manifestation of souls in world after world, in accordance with their acquirements of wrong and crime. And as for the allegorical sense of the resurrection, the resurrection of individual souls is separation from the apprehensions of sense, and corporeal instruments; and the resurrection of laws and religions is the appear-

are commanded. . . . And we depend upon them as our administrators, so that they are our lords, and our divinities, and our askers, and our intercessors before God; while he is the Lord of lords, and the God of gods." See Eab-Shahrastāny's *Book of Relig. and Philos. Sects.* p. 208. The next sentences show that by "the Amrs" are here intended the reinforcements which the Amr transmits to the Nāṭiks and Aśās, or Prophets and Legatees, of the seven periods.

\* This seems to indicate that the Prophet of the seventh period was not considered as having established the new order of things, when this sermon was composed.

† By which are intended the senses.

‡ This and the "pursuing the route of their impediments" are expressions borrowed from the operations of an army in the field, to signify a victory gained by souls over all the obstacles of corporeal form.

ance of the *Ha'im*\* of the time; and the resurrection of the period in the Universal Soul's showing itself in the well-doings of individual souls; and the resurrection of resurrections is the perfection of deliverance and salvation, and the relief of all souls from being made to emanate, and their reaching the world of the Holy One, and the place of Lights, and the ending of the prolongation of the hours of the Great Day, and the coming together of the planets, after their separation, at the point of the first equipoise in revolution; and the resurrection of the whole is the consummation of the two awakenings,† and the closing together of the two zones,‡ and the reversion of science and power to the Universal Soul, in the two worlds, and the coming to nothing of articles, and the failure of difference in fundamentals, and the *Hiyûly's* putting off the clothing of form, and the Soul's dispensing with the efficiencies of necessity,§ and the Knowing One's becoming alone as to his sort and his principle,|| and the verification of his saying, "And to him shall all command revert."¶

And as for the Book, it is the tablet of secret thought, and the place of that by which the soul is determined in respect to holding to be true and imagining. And as for the reading of it, it is the soul's eyeing and regarding its objects of knowledge akin to itself. And if they are proved sciences and decisive verities, the soul takes hold of them by the right hand, because they pertain to the higher alternative of direction and certain knowledge; and if they are the imaginings of conjecture, and the accreditings of supposition, and the doubtings of syllogism, and the beliefs of the following of authority, the soul takes hold of them by

\* i. e. The Taker of his stand, meaning the manifestation of the *Amr* in each new Prophet. See note † p. 301

† Probably, the awakening by Munkir and Nakir, (see note † p. 288,) and the awakening for final judgment

‡ Meaning the two zones called, in the astronomy of the Arabs, "the zone of primary motion," a circle intersecting the earth near the north and south poles, which regulates the motion of all the heavenly bodies together, from east to west, around the earth, every twenty-four hours; and "the zone of secondary motion," a circle, intersecting the earth at other than the polar points, which regulates the revolutions of the sun and stars from west to east, around the earth, in varying periods. See *Ferganensis Elementa Astronomica*, pp. 15-16, 46.

§ See p. 302.

¶ *Kurân*, Sur. xi. v. 128.

| See note § p. 306.

the left hand,\* because they pertain to the lower alternatives of conjecturing and error. And as for the reckoning, it is that the superior Universal Soul stands by inferior individual souls, in respect to that which emanates from them of sayings and doings, and sciences and operations, whilst they use the instruments of form, and outward shapes, with the four compound forces, out of which are made up the forces of man, which are the angelic, and the brutal, and the bestial, and the Satanic. And so, if the angelic increases, and the force of certain knowledge predominates, they merit the good of compensation, and are safe from the evil of penalty, and are elevated, as devotees, to the inner court of the invisible realm of the celestial spheres, to have command of worlds beneath which the Regal Powers† have sway, and are raised by degrees to their spiritual mansion, and their world of light; and if one of the three [other] forces predominates, and hinders them from experiencing resurrection, they merit the torment of penalty, and return into the defile of the place of return, and are brought back to the long zig-zag, and to base, hideous form, and are dismissed to a shade in three parts,‡ and are imprisoned in the caverns of abjectness and weariness. And as for the Balance, it is the medium which the intellect makes use of in order to apprehension, and discernment, and preference between the incoherencies of falsehood and the accordances of that which is precious. And as for that which is weighed, it is views and firmly established beliefs, as respects sayings and doings, and sciences and operations. And as for the weigher, it is the intellect, the apprehender, the comprehender, the discernor between the composite and the simple. And as for the *Širât*,§ it is the intermediate between progression and attainment, shared in common, and the soul's way of transit to the upper world, from the lower

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\* The taking hold by the right hand, or by the left, in this passage signifies good, or evil augury. The language is borrowed from the scene of the judgment-day, as anticipated by the Muslim, when the good man will have his book of accounts put into his right hand, and the bad man will be made to take it by the left hand. See *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman* par M. De M. D'Ohsson, Tome i. p. 47.

† Meaning the Regents of the planets.

‡ Meaning that they become embodied in minerals, plants, or  
See p. 317.

§ See note † p. 309.

opposed thereto, between that which is corporeal and that which is spiritual, a place of twisting for minerals, a place of bending for plants, a place of stooping for animals, a place of erect standing for spiritual men and deities.\*

And as for the idea of the Garden, it is the eight worlds, of which the first is the Garden of the Balance, which is the station of man; and the second, the Garden of 'Adan, which is the station of angels; and the third, the Garden of eternal life, which consists of the worlds of the celestial spheres; and the fourth, the Superior Garden, which consists of the worlds of spirit abstracted from the enveloping worlds; and the fifth, the Garden of Firdaus, which consists of the worlds of the Soul-like; and the sixth, the Garden of comfort, which is the world of science; and the seventh, the Garden of Ridhwân, which is the world of the Intelligence; and the eighth, the Garden of the place of aid, which is the world of the Divine Amr, from which the worlds come forth, and to which is their return.† And as for the gradations of the Garden, they are the degrees of sciences, and the measures of perceptions, in every known Place.‡ And as for the delights, and the enclosures, they are the whirling about of souls in the inner court of their acquirements of knowledge, and their gaiety on reaching their places of witness,§ and their stopping-places. And as for the couches, and the shades, and the cushions, and the mantles, they are the places of manifestation of souls in rival forms, and their putting off disagreeing forms, and clothing themselves in suitable impersonations. And as for the water-pitchers, and the goblets, and the butler, and the wine-chalice, and the wine, they are instruments of the apprehensive faculties, and helps to the comprehension of the sciences of the invisible realm and the angels. And the butler is the Imâm of the circling period; and the wine-chalice is that which the Nâtiḳ composes of the outward;

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\* Here is allegorized that sort of intermediate state represented in the Muslim creed by the bridge over Hell, which the good pass with the speed of lightning, while the bad are precipitated from it into the flames below. It is explained to mean the scene of the progress of souls through this world, in its various stages of mineral, vegetable, and animal embodiment.

† All this may be understood by reference to the system of cosmogony, detailed in the first piece contained in this document.

‡ Place of the reinforcements of the Amr. See p. 301.

§ See note † p. 307.

and the pure wine is the allegorical sense of the letter of revelation, and the disclosure of the hidden.

And as for the Fire, it is the seven worlds, namely, the three things generated and the four Corner-stones; of which the first is *Leza*, which is the Globe of Ether; after which is *El-Jehîm*, the centre of Air and Freezing Cold; after which is *Es-Sa'îr*, the mansion of Water; after which is *El-Hâwiyeh*, the place of sepulture; after which is *Jehennam*, the world of animals other than man; after which is *Sakar*, the station of plants; after which is *Sejjil*, the place of dead minerals. And its descents are the forms of its hideous impersonations, and its gross, heavy envelopes. And its people are the individual souls which profess false religions and depraved beliefs. And as for the punishment and the penalty, it is that which one experiences of sufferings and pains and diseases, and separation from things habituated to, by the inroad of misfortunes and calamities. And as for the *Zubâniyeh*,\* the helps of *El-Jehîm*, they are the forms of doubts and ignorances, and the impersonations of errors and phantasms, and the manifesters of false views and failures. And *Mâlik†* is the impersonation of composite ignorance. And as for the being qualified with badness, that is the being collared with the serpent and the scorpion, and the change of skins, and the being folded to breaking, and the being brought back to the lowest of two low states,‡ and the being conducted into the zig-zag of *Es-Sa'îr*, and the tree *Zakkûm*,§ and the becoming akin to the Adversaries,|| and the gathering of the fruits of infidelity and repugnance, and the feeding on the *d'hari'¶* and putrefaction. And the belief of that which fits not the intellect, and religion, and the following of authority, are the People of uncertainties and conjecturing,\*\* and the drink of hot water, and the sentences adverse to the certain truth.

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\* Demons of the Muslim Hell.

† A note to the original manuscript, in Arabic, interprets this to be the name of "the barbed and feathered arrow of the porter of Hell."

‡ Meaning, to *El-Jehîm*. See above.

§ The Tree of Hell.

|| A name given to the Spirits of Hell.

¶ The *d'hari'* is said to be a plant of heating qualities, found on the shore of the Dead Sea. See *Ibn Beitâr's Heil- und Nahrungs-mittel*, Bd. ii. p. 145.

\*\* A name given to the Spirits of Hell.

And as for the coming to an end, and the return to God,—let him be exalted! it is the terminating of all the relations and connections which are between things simple and things composite, of the spiritual and corporeal worlds, and things subtile and things gross, in the four Upholding Roots,\* the traces of the Word, in the order indicated, by means of of the letters of God conjoined with the Amr;† which is the idea of the return of things composite, having relation to number, to Unity; which is anterior to Ether, which is the principle of number, and its origin, and which is the principle of the perfect, the deficient, and the redundant.‡

And as for the seeing of him,—let him be exalted! it is the knowledge of the rank of the Imâm, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending that which is special and that which is general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the allowed, it is that which is necessary to be manifested and laid open. And as for the forbidden, it is that which is necessary to be concealed and hidden. And obedience is the entering into covenant with the Kâim of the time. And disobedience is the inclining to the Imâms of error and hostility. And as for prayer, it is the connection of the Dâ'i with the House of peace, through paternal connection, in respect to religiousness, with the Imâm.§ And alms is the coming of wisdom to him who is worthy, and the guiding of the inquirer to the open way of truth. And fasting is the abstaining from disclosure of the verities of legal enactments, in the presence of others than those to whom they are suited, during the period of disclosure. And as for the going into retirement,|| it is the Imâm's hiding himself by means of his Veils,¶ and his concealing himself by means of some of his Dâ'is and his Hujjahs, that is, night, which is the Imâm's veiling himself by his Veils from sight.

\* The four elements.

† See note \* p. 300.

‡ See note § p. 308; and it is worthy of notice in that connection, that the relations of number as even, and odd, in the two opposite respects of too little and too much, are referred to in the last clause of this sentence.

§ On the relation of the Dâ'i to the Imâm, see p. 280.

|| This is one of the duties obligatory upon the Muslim. It is defined to consist "in remaining several days and nights in the interior of a mosque, there to fast, pray, and meditate, in an unbroken and complete collectedness of mind." See D'Ossmon's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome ii. p. 7.

¶ See note † p. 311.

And day is that which proves the period of disclosure, that is, the breaking of fast, which is the manifestation of the Imâm behind a Veil, and his causing souls to know without a Gate. And as for the breaking of fast, it is the coming out to view of the divine ideas, and the knowledge of the verity of the circumstances of the Place of return;\* which is its manifestation without a Veil with which it veils itself, and without a Gate by which entrance is made to it; and the manifestation of guarded secrets and reserved sciences. And as for pilgrimage, it is correct motive in respect to love of the Seignors, the Imâms, and constancy in friendship for the people of the Family, the Family of science and wisdom. And the setting out is the cutting off of speculation, to the neglect of that which is beside them. And the provision for the way, and the pack-camel, is the asking to be reinforced with their idea.† And the entering upon the sacred territory is departure from the doctrines of the Adversaries, and the acquiring of receptivity and preparation. And as for the stopping on 'Arafah and Muzdelifeh,‡ it is the being intent upon the canons of wisdom and knowledge. And as for the idea of the slaying and the shearing,§ it is the putting an end to falsehood by the manifestation of the truth. And the casting of stones at intervals of three thousand paces|| is the rejection of doubting and supposing and conjecturing, as respects sciences and operations. And the kissing of the Black Stone¶ is acceptance of the call from the aided Nâsik. And the going around the corners\*\* is the knowledge of the groups of seven pertaining to the relation of cause to effect.

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\* A name applied to the Imâni, as one who brings back the Amr to the world, by virtue of those reinforcements from the Amr which are the essential part of his being.

† Meaning to have the true idea of the Imâm formed in the mind.

‡ A locality near Mekkeh, one of the sacred stations of the Muslim pilgrim, where he spends the night after visiting 'Arafah. See D'Ohsson's *Tableau Général de l'Empire Othoman*, Tome ii p. 29

§ Meaning, of animals for the sacrifice offered in connection with pilgrimage to Mekkeh.

|| A ceremony several times repeated by the Muslim pilgrim, in memory of Abraham's putting demons to flight, by throwing stones at them, who tempted him to disobey God. See D'Ohsson's *Tabl. Gén. de l'Empire Othoman*, Tome ii. pp. 29. ff.

¶ The black stone on one corner of the Ka'beh which is kissed by the pilgrim in making the tour of the Ancient House. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. p. 249.

\*\* Of the Ka'beh.



And the Makâm and Zemzem\* are the call to that which is inward and the call as to that which is outward. And the running between Marwêh and Safâ is the performance of the covenant with faithfulness. And the finishing of pilgrimage by the complete visitation of the sacred spots, is the responding to the Mâdhûns with respect to the general call. And the going against an enemy and holy warfare are the scrutinizing of the arguments of those who are repugnant, and the bringing to nought their sayings by intellectual proofs and decisive arguments. And as for the commission of adultery, it is the responder's being brought into connection† without a witness, and the laying open of things before the choosing to enter into covenant. And the practice of usury is the passionate desire for enrichment, and the seeking of things perishable by the divulging of secrets. And obscenity is the mentioning of commendable actions as pertaining to the obstinate disobedients, and the reference of fair deeds to the hostile transgressors. And depravity is the exchange of the Knowing One for the Ignorant. And transgression is the preferring of that which is excelled above that which excels. And justice is the abandoning of that which is deficient, when the perfect exists. And fair doing is the science of the comprehensive-ness of the Imâm, and his sovereignty over that which is inward and that which is outward, or which appears and which hides itself. And the giving to a relative is love of the Family of the Envoy, and friendship for the posterity of the Immaculate,‡ and the extolling of the Hâshimites, and the declaration of the imamship of the Fâtîmite Imâms. And injustice is the making others than the people of the Family the depositories of the imamship, and the falling away from the Knowing One, the Living One, and the imitating of the Ignorant, the Lifeless. And as for the killing without right and evidence, it is the contending for victory without science, and the striving to put to rout without proof. And games are the sciences of the Party of the Outcasts, and the things believed by the Party of the Externalists, which prevent souls

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\* The Makâm, or Makâm Ibrâhîm, i. e. The station of Abraham, supposed to mark the spot where the patriarch stood to build the original Ka'beh, is a small building which the Muslim pilgrim passes immediately before reaching that inner shrine of the Mosque. The well Zemzem is situated near by, but farther from the Ka'beh. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. i. pp. 266-7.

† Meaning his being admitted to the fraternity.

‡ A name applied to Fâtîmeh.

from inquiring into verities, and from contemplating things which are recondite, and interdict the following of the rules of the ignorants, and the institutions of the Adversaries and the repudiating zealots. And the forbidden intoxicating draught is that which diverts the intellect from direction toward the knowledge connected with inquiry concerning the Imâm, and the witnessing of his lights, comprehending the special and the general, and the regarding of his traces, embracing ideas and corporeities.

And as for the Jinns, they are the Hiders of themselves from the eyes of the aliens, but the Attendants upon the perfect, the good, who expand wings of mercy over the inhabitants of the metropolises. And as for the 'Ifrits and the Ghûls, they are the accursed, obstinate Adversaries, of the species of the gainsayers and the repugnant,—let the curse of God and of the angels be on them all! And as for Iblis he is the undertaker of hostility to the manifest Imâm of the age, through envy and hatred.

This is the allegorical sense of my belief with respect to religion, and the refined ore of my holding with respect to the summing up of the substance of certain knowledge; which is the religion of the Noble Envoy, and the creed of our father Ibrâhîm, and the doctrine of the great Annunciation, and the belief of the people of the Noble Family. "So then, whoever changes it, after that he has heard it, the fault thereof rests only upon those who change it. Verily, God is one who hears, one who knows."\*

As for the pious, verily they are beheld taking comfort upon couches; in their faces is discerned the brightness of comfort; they have given them to drink pure wine sealed, of which the seal is a perfume of musk. And let those be eager, then, for that, who are eager for gladness, and joy, and happiness, and resurrection.

The Memorial of the Spirit of God 'Îsa and his Legatee Shemûn,—let peace from both of them be to us! The Knowledge of the rank of the Imâm,—let the most distinguished peace, and the most perfect salutation, be to his memory! which is the hidden sense of alms.

\* Kurân, Sur. ii. v. 177.

It is a saying of his,—let him be exalted! “And we have indeed ennobled the sons of Adam, and borne them upon the land and upon the sea, and bestowed on them good things, and distinguished them above many of those whom we have created, with distinction. On a certain day, we shall call all men to their Imâm; and so, whoever have their books given to them in their right hands, those will read their books, and will not be wronged a mite; and whoever is blind in this world, he will be blind in the world to come, and more out of the way.”\* Praise be to God who has taught us, and informed us, and ennobled us, and made us to see, in that he has directed us to the way of the profession of unity, and has put us, by causing to follow the Imâms of truth, among the most distinguished of his servants! And benediction, and peace, and salutation, and honoring, be to the memory of our Friend, the Imâm of the time, the point of the circle of religions, the Kibleh of the people of the faith, and the plain way to the Gardens, the affirmed as to his existence by argument and proof, the verity of verities, and the end of ways, and the acme of the intention of created things, and the cause of the existence of the Tâly and the Sâbik,† the firm bond of alliance with God, and his clear light, and his certain truth, and his preceptive Book, and his prolonged shadow, and the watering-reservoir of him, and his blessed Place of standing,‡ and his knotted standard, and his Amr by which existence appears, and his Word from which the worlds come forth, and to which they return, the proposed end, the perfection of the knowledge of whom has to do with the ordaining of laws and creeds, the showing of whose rank is that which is intended by the manifestation of occasions and causes, for whose sakes intellects and souls are made fast,§ and on whose account is the manifestation of that which is objective to the intellect and that which is objective to sense, around whom is the circling of the celestial spheres and the envelopes, and from whom proceeds the sustenance of spirits and bodies, and through whom is the remaining of the Corner-stones and the things generated, and to whom pertains the consolidation of causes and things caused, of whose familiarity the

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\* Kurân, Sur. xvii. vv. 72-4.

† Meaning the Amr, or Word, but in a secondary sense. See below, and pp. 301-2.

‡ See note † p. 301.

§ Meaning, embodied.

worlds\* are the manifesters, and of whose sanctity they are the place,† and of the lights of whose divinity they are the place of appearing, and of the mysteries of whose humanity they are the hiding-places,‡ and of the suns of whose glory they are the rising-places, and of the moons of whose perfection they are the setting-places,§ by the following of whom elevation is attained, and through the love of whom abiding is perpetual, and by the knowledge of whom there is salvation from the obscurities of El-Hâwiyeh, and arrival at high degrees, and deliverance from the snare of polytheism and disobedience, and rectitude in the open way of direction and faith, to whom the Prophets and the Envoys point, and in whom the courses and the paths come to an end. So then, he is the idea of the Book, and the import of the Address,|| and the way of right judgment, and the hidden sense of the Veil, and the Gate of Gates. And he is the divine effusion, and the other consummate out-pouring.¶ And to him belongs light, and darkness, and the causing to exist, and annihilation. By obedience to him is perfection, and the reaching to the most exalted of states; and by disobedience to him is irreclaimableness, and falling into the pit of ruin. No companion is without him, and no place dispenses with him; and his effusion is not severed from things produced; and from his science escapes not the weight of a mite, either in the earth or in the heavens; and he exempts not from his sovereignty either things which move or things which are at rest, or things outward or things inward. So then, let worthiness to be glorified, and worthiness to be hallowed, be ascribed to his noble presence! And let there be a hallowing and an exalting of his eternal majesty, and a magnifying and a praising of his great throne!

And to his side we betake ourselves, and with knowledge of him we wake to attention, and to gratitude to him we

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\* The eight higher worlds and the seven lower, mentioned above.

† The embodiment.

‡ Meaning, whose manifested divinity they show, and whose concealed divinity they hide. But let it be carefully observed, that the divinity here ascribed to the Inâm is only a derived divinity.

§ Meaning, whose rising, sun-like glory they exhibit, and whose setting, moon-like light they shroud. There is allusion, in this and the preceding clause, to the distinction between the Inâm making himself known, and the Inâm withdrawing into seclusion, which is clearly expressed in the preceding sermon. See pp. 318-19.

|| The revelation by Gabriel. See p. 312.

¶ Meaning the effusion of God, and that of the Amr.

give utterance, and to his mercy we render thanks, and in the profession of his unity we believe, and to his Enclosures we yield obedience, and to his Nâtiqs\* we give credit. And their Asâses we acknowledge, and their Imâms we know for certain. And with their direction we have contracted, and upon their gladdening with intimacy and secret converse we rely, and in the open way of their counsel we stand fast, and in the light of their lights we see, and in the love of them, and friendship to them, we die and live, and in obedience to them we go on journeys. And if they had not benignantly bestowed upon us their long-suffering, certainly we should not have perceived the enactments of the time, and the Mediators of the Merciful, and the Gate of God, the Knowing One, the Omniscient.

And know thou that every Imâm of the time is according to the time; who is the first and the last, the outward and the inward; who is knowing to every thing.

This, then, is a part of the hidden things of the sciences of religion, and the mystery of certain knowledge, and the faith of the believers, and the light of the Rightful, and the tenets of those who profess unity, and the crown of those who have knowledge, and the end of the patient, and the mark of every one who has an aim, and the watering-place of every one who goes to water. So hold thou on to it with the holding on of him who hopes to have it on the day of return;† and provision thyself with it, for it is the best of provisions for the way. And it is that which is most important of the sciences, and that which is the highest of them. And thou shalt not communicate it except to those to whom it is suited.

And praise be to God who has directed us hereto! and we should not have been to be directed, if God had not directed us. And do thou, O God, bless our chief Muḥammed, and his Family, the good, the pure, with a benediction abiding to the day of doom! And God is our sufficiency. And well is he the Guardian! And well is he the Friend! And well is he the Defender! And let peace be to the Messengers! And praise be to God, the Lord of worlds!

\* As the representative of the Amr, the Imâm is here said to have his Nâtiqs; while immediately afterwards is recognized his relation of successor to the Nâtiq, in the Isma'îlian hierarchy.

† The day of final account.

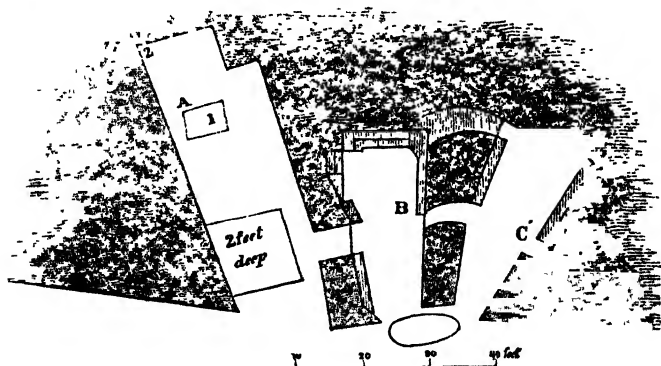
# MISCELLANIES



## MALTESE ANTIQUITIES..

A RECENT communication from William Winthrop, Esq., United States Consul at Malta, has put us in possession of some interesting particulars respecting three ancient subterranean chambers, lately discovered by him and Lieut. Walter Lock, of the British Army, near Citta Vecchia on that island, to which allusion was made in the Proceedings of the Society published in our first volume\*. We have to regret, indeed, that Mr. Winthrop gives us only second-hand information; but, inasmuch as we have seen, as yet, no allusion to this discovery in any oriental journal, it has been thought proper to transfer the substance of it to these pages.

The accompanying wood-cut was made from a lithographed plan of the excavation, drawn by Mr. H. Grain of the Royal Engineers, for which also we are indebted to Mr. Winthrop.



From the notes of a late traveller in the East, Rev. Mr. Margoliouth, who examined the chambers for several days, we obtain the following details.

"The first chamber on the left contains an oblong square altar surrounded by four trenches," and there are indica-

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\* *Journ. of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. I, p. xxxi.



tions that a stream of water was once conducted through it, probably for the cleansing of the precincts of the altar, after the performance of sacrifices. "The centre chamber contains two rows of seats,—in the passage leading to the right-hand chamber,—one above the other, and the vestiges of a carved human figure, with a long branched wand in his hand, as well as a representation of the moon, all of which can be traced on a column which occupies the left-hand inner" extremity of the chamber. The chamber on the right exhibits, on its right-hand wall, "the vestiges of a human figure, and close to it those of a fish-tailed goat."

To this description we append some remarks on the age and destination of the excavated chambers, including farther details respecting them, which express the views of Dr. C. Vassallo, Government-Librarian at Malta.

"The latest journals make farther mention of the ancient chambers recently discovered near Citta Vecchia, which Dr. Vassallo, the government-librarian, considers, from the squareness of the forms, to be an excavated Egyptian temple, of the time of Psammetichus, about seven centuries B. C. The annexed are the only essential points in the description. The reliefs on the sides and ceiling appear, at first sight, to be the mere traces of the implement with which the excavations were made. But a more attentive examination reveals the fact, that they are abraded remains of a particular species of ornamental bas-reliefs, of the nature of which no precise traces now remain. The greater part of them have been evidently disposed in circles, a mode in which no one hews into a rock for the mere purposes of excavation. Besides which, the indentations, or cuts, at times three together, are so near each other as to negative the hand of one merely striving to remove the rock, in order to make a hollow in it; for the softness of the stone is such, that one blow alone would have removed a portion of the rock of greater dimensions than the space in which the three cuts would, in such case, indicate three blows to have been given. Dr. Vassallo observed the figure of a dog (perhaps *Apubis*) on the wall. We observed traces ourselves of the carved representations of some animal at two spots; but they were very faint ones. This temple has three compartments or chambers, with an entrance to each. Looking at them from without, the right-hand one was evidently that by which the chief personages had their ingress; the centre chamber that of the performance of rites; the left excavation that where water was made use of. At the bottom of the right-hand chamber is a passage between it and the internal end of the centre one, where

two rows of seats are placed, one above the other, both at the end and at a part of the sides. On these seats it is evident that those occupying them occasionally stood erect, to enable them to do which the roof over them is cut about a couple of inches higher than the rest of it, and over seven feet high. The walls are incurvated at the back of the seats to afford more conveniency of sitting. The principal seat would appear to have been against a square column, cut out of the rock, with faces parallel to the sides of the chamber, and occupying the left-hand inner corner of it; and on a part of this column, something would appear to have been cut, perhaps some figure of a deity of secrecy, probably Harpocrates. This was evidently a sacrificing-chamber. The floor is inclined towards the entrance, where was a pit, no doubt to receive the blood of the victims immolated, and the water used in cleansing the place; while above is a long cut or groove in the roof, increasing in width towards the entrance, to allow the escape of smoke. The other chamber, i. e. the left-hand one, looking at them from without, was to contain water, and no doubt there was once there a running spring, very probably subsequently intercepted by excavating for water in the gardens above. A little water still exudes from the left-hand inner corner of the chamber, sufficient to keep it constantly muddy, and the rock at that corner has become extremely hard by the absorption of carbonic acid. A basin for water is cut out of the rock in this chamber, in the middle of which is a narrow place to stand upon, with grooves to allow the water to pass through it. The water here might have served for the ablution of sacrificers: or the middle room might perhaps have been used for the judges sitting in judgment on the dead, in order to decide whether they should enjoy the rites of burial, and the water in the other room might have been symbolical of the lake over which Charon carried them for that purpose in the then mother-country, in his boat. We think it a pity that the land in front of this triple excavation is not removed for a short distance, in order to bring to our knowledge whether any thing was constructed before it, which we think highly probable. Indeed, the man who rents the field states that, once, a massive wall was found near, under ground, and that this attracted attention to the three entrances, then nearly entirely covered up.

It ought to be noticed that Mr. Margoliouth had previously ascribed a Phœnician origin to these chambers, and that with considerable plausibility. The facts at present before the public do not enable us to decide which of the two views is to be preferred.

PLAN FOR EFFECTING  
A UNIFORM ORTHOGRAPHY  
OF THE  
SOUTH-AFRICAN DIALECTS.

THE following communication, sent to us by the writers, may serve to explain the plan for effecting a uniform orthography of the South-African dialects, to which allusion is made in the Proceedings of the Society published in this volume.\*

"To the Missionaries and Friends of education among the Aborigines of Southern Africa.

"DEAR BRETHREN AND FRIENDS:

"The undersigned, fellow laborers with yourselves in efforts to enlighten and elevate the benighted sons of Africa, send greeting, and would desire respectfully to address you on a point which seems to us to be one of common interest, and of more than ordinary importance, *ss.* the subject of *a uniform orthography for writing each and all the Aboriginal dialects of Africa, South of the Mountains of the Moon.*"

After alluding to the fact that "there seems to be little or no doubt that all the tribes of Southern Africa, extending from the southern coast as far as about 5° N. Lat.,—the Hottentots and Bushmen excepted—speak but various dialects of fundamentally the same language," and to the important bearing of the subject of reducing these dialects to writing upon the christianization of Africa, the letter proceeds:

"And here it is important to state briefly, that by *uniform orthography* we mean, that a given character or letter have but one and the same value ascribed to it, and that a given sound which is common to all the dialects, be represented uniformly and universally by one and the same character in all said dialects; or in other words, that one and the same character

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\* See p xvii.

be employed to represent one and the same sound wherever that sound exists; and that one and the same peculiar character which is thought to be necessary to represent any peculiar sound, or a sound which is not common to all the dialects, be always employed to represent that same peculiar or limited sound, wherever it exists among any of the tribes.

"The *attainment* of such a system we think quite *practicable*. It might not require any great deviation from the system which most or all of us may have adopted already in our respective fields of labor. If we have all adopted the Roman characters, then we have a common basis which might require only some slight modifications, additions, or alterations, to make it uniform—all of which could be readily known and regulated, if all parties would obligingly volunteer their services in something like the following manner, which brings us to our next point.

"The *plan* or mode of operation which we would propose is this. Let each mission, as the London, Wesleyan, Scotch Free Church, Glasgow, French, Berlin, Rhenish, Moravian, Norwegian, American, the Church, &c.,—each and every respective mission in Africa, South of the Mountains of the Moon, appoint a Committee from its own number, whose duty it shall be to prepare an article on the elementary sounds of the dialect of the people among whom they labor; giving, as far as possible, all of said sounds, and also the system of orthography which has been adopted in writing the language, or the system which seems to them sufficient, and best fitted for that and the neighboring dialects. And let them add such other remarks upon the people, their character, customs, relations, &c., as may have a bearing upon the subject, or be of general ethnological value. And let all these articles be sent to some one or two individuals learned and interested in such pursuits, who, (with others, should it be thought expedient to enlarge the number,) shall constitute a Committee, whose duty it shall be to compare said articles, and deduce from them and other sources at their command, such a system of uniform orthography as they may deem best fitted to the South-African tongues, and to report the same to all the parties from which they received articles on the subject.

\* \* \* \* \*

"It is not to be denied that there are difficulties in the way of such an undertaking. Many of the parties whose co-operation is required are far removed, and the means of inter-communication may be irregular or unfrequent; and among some there may be a lack of interest in the matter. But things more difficult and of much less value than this, have been attempted and accomplished; and it is believed that there is noth-

ing in the case before us which resolution, promptness and effort will not overcome. And why should there be a want of interest on the subject in any mind to whom it holds even the most distant relation, especially in any Missionary in Africa, or in any one who would see her inhabitants enlightened and blessed? In every part of the civilized world all classes of men are studying to rid their affairs of all possible friction; shall the servants of God in Africa make no efforts to keep pace with the progressive spirit of the age? \* \* \* \*

“Before closing, we may glance at some of the *advantages* which might be expected from such a uniform system of orthography, and from the efforts to obtain it.

“And it is no small consideration, that the *very means* by which we could secure the great end, *may themselves be made an end of pre-eminent value*. For, the prosecution of the measure proposed may be made a happy medium for increasing and diffusing much light and knowledge in respect to the geographical position, the laws, customs, and moral character of all nations under consideration. It would also, without doubt, develop more fully the resemblances and differences between the several branches of the great family of African tongues; and it might correct some prevalent errors in respect to them. Further, the plan proposed would lead to a more thorough study of these languages, and would multiply facilities for studying them to the best advantage. For the measure cannot be accomplished without much careful observation and study of the people of Africa, their character and language, in different parts of the continent, and that too by men best qualified and best situated for the work. And the result of this observation and study must be noted down. And let a summary of these results be communicated by the Committee to all the missions and individuals who shall have furnished articles, and who will say that such individuals will not then have greater facilities for the further study of the language? And would not these considerations alone be an equivalent for all the labor and pains which the whole enterprise might involve?

“Another advantage to be expected would be—what has been already alluded to—a *better system of orthography*. It would secure all the necessary facts and examples, the opinions of the best judges, and finally call to our aid a Committee, whose *impartiality*, good judgment, and great learning would abundantly qualify them to act in the case. None to whom this paper is addressed, can be ignorant of the difficulties attending the phonography and orthography of a new and barbarous tongue; nor can any be *insensible to the importance* of a simple, natural and per-

fect system, and the introduction of the same at the earliest stage of writing the language and instructing the people.

"Again, a uniform system of orthography would make all books, printed in the languages, much more valuable, by making them more extensively intelligible, and opening the way for a wider use and circulation of them. By adopting different systems of orthography, books in one dialect may be no better than sealed to those speaking another dialect, though the difference in the two dialects may be so slight that the natives of each tribe have no difficulty in being mutually understood in all oral communications. More than this—two Missionary Societies in the same field and among the same people (by adopting different systems of orthography) may each render all their books quite unintelligible to the common reader taught by the other Society. Nor are these imaginary cases. But let all cognate dialects be reduced and written upon a common system, and the labor of preparing books is greatly diminished, while the value of each book is much increased.

"Again, the measure proposed would open a natural and easy way of enlarging and enriching the various dialects of Southern Africa. Each dialect is exceedingly barren of many important words; while each has some of its own which do not belong to others. "The Kafirs, for instance, have a word to express 'king,' in distinction from 'chief,' which the Zulus have not; and another tribe has a word for 'concubine' which is found neither among the Zulus nor Kafirs. Such words having the native form and prefix, could be easily transferred from one tribe to another; and this transfer would seem vastly better than to introduce from the Hebrew or Greek, the English or Dutch, words which must have a prefix added, perhaps a vowel added at the end, and two or three other vowels inserted, in order to separate what would otherwise be, to a native, unpronounceable consonants. A word thus introduced is at best but a barbarous intruder, more ugly, less intelligible, and far less expressive, than a native word would be, even though a visitant from another tribe." [*Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I. No. iv.*] One dialect may be very meagre in some of the most desirable qualities of style, aside from mere words, while another dialect may have some of these, but be deficient in some excellence which the former possesses. A uniform orthography would facilitate mutual import and export, and furnish reciprocal aid. And by various natural and consequent modifications and unimprovements, the grand result of a much more copious, flexible and in every respect complete language might be obtained for all the tribes of Southern Africa. And the advantages of such a result for

translating the Scriptures, and for all religious as well as other purposes, are too evident to require enumeration. It is a kind of improvement which African languages greatly need, and to which all the best languages have ever been much indebted for their beauty and utility.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Very respectfully yours in the cause of truth,"

|               |                                                               |
|---------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| LEWIS GROUT,  | } Committee in behalf of<br>the American Mission<br>at Natal. |
| J. C. BRYANT, |                                                               |
| H. A. WILDER, |                                                               |
| N. ADAMS,     |                                                               |
| J. L. DOHNE,  |                                                               |

Port Natal, March 6, 1850."

## HINTS

ON THE INTRODUCTION OF

## BUDDHISM INTO BURMAH.

THE following letter, dated Maulnam, November 14, 1850, is from Rev. Francis Mason, Missionary of the American Baptist Union in Burmah, to the Corresponding Secretary.

MY DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \* "Though a stranger, it has occurred to me that a ray or two of light that I can cast on the subject of the introduction of Buddhism into Burmah, would not be unacceptable to you. 'Sôvanabhûmi' you say, 'I am unable to identify.\* That is Pegu. The Burmese books say that Asoka sent Onktratera and Thannatera to 'Umwonna-bungmi, which, they say, is the country of Tha-tung, or Sa-tung, as it would be pronounced in Pali and Sanscrit. The ruins of Tha-tung, with its innumerable pagodas, still remain between the mouths of the Salwen, and the Setaing rivers, about half a day's journey west of Martaban. It is, I think, beyond doubt the oldest seat of Buddhism in Burmah. Asoka's missionaries are said to have introduced the religion of Gautama into Tha-tung in the year 236, or eighteen years after the third great council was held.† A. D. 386, the people appear to have been zealous for Buddhism, inasmuch as it is recorded that Bugdagotha, or

\* See *Journal of Am. Or. Soc.*, vol. 1. p. 100, ff.—COMM. OF PUBL.

† The year mentioned is, of course, of the Buddhist era.—COMM. OF PUBL.

Buddhaghosa, was deputed to Ceylon to bring over a full copy of the several books; and is said to have returned with two copies. Six hundred years afterwards, A. D. 1057, the descendants of the first Buddhist missionaries were regarded as living in Tha-tung; for at that date, Ananrahtsan, the king of Pagan, being much inclined to Buddhism, sent and brought from Tha-tung to Pagan the Buddhist Scriptures, and teachers, 'the descendants of Thannatera and Onktara,' through which the religion was propagated in Pagan; where, from this period, it appears to have become the established religion.

"What nation inhabited Tha-tung, is not quite certain. The Toung-thu or Pa-ans, as they call themselves, a tribe scattered in the interior, contend strenuously that Tha-tung was their seat of government, and that Bugdagottha was a Toung-thu or Pa-an. The Talaings or Peguans are equally confident that Tha-tung was a Talaing city. And although I have conversed with many of both nations on the subject, and turned to every historical document I can meet with, I am still in doubt to which party to appropriate it.

"The first city that appears in Burmese history, on the North, is Maureya, (Ptolemy's Marema Emporium,) where Mwe-yen now stands; and next in order are Tagoung and upper Pagan, the ruins of which still exist. A few years ago, terra cotta images of Gautama were dug up at Tagoung, of a different appearance from those usually found in Burmah; but they proved, on comparison, to be identical with the images of Gautama found in Northern Hindustan in similar situations. In a Burmese history that I read fifteen years ago, Beringda, who reigned in Prome, and died A. D. 10, is said to have gone to Taxila to study the Vedas.

"These facts go to prove that there was a connection between the interior of Burmah and the northern parts of Hindustan; and in this way I think Northern Burmah became acquainted with Buddhism.

"Buddhism was known in Burmah, and partially embraced, in the early ages; but, according to the Burmese historians themselves, it was only properly established during the reign of Nau-ra-tha, who came to the throne A. D. 1017, or, according to some authorities, A. D. 997.

"The system of Buddhism is not universally that of Ceylon. Another system is known here to a limited extent, which, so far as my observation goes, is unknown in Ceylon, but well known, for substance, in Thibet,—the system in which Gautama teaches that a woman created all living beings, and existed before there were any gods, or Buddhas.

"A careful comparison of the Sanscrit alphabet of the Gujerat inscriptions, of the second century of the Christian era, with the ancient



Pali square character, and the modern Burmese round character, has convinced me that the former is the parent of the two latter.

"I am inclined to think that there is considerable information yet locked up in the Burmese books; but it is a kind of information that very few persons care for, and being difficult to reach, it will probably remain locked up some years longer. It is very difficult to obtain Burmese books of value, and it costs much time to read them; and of the names of persons and places out of their own country the natives know nothing. Taxila, which I mentioned above, is an unknown town, and I only made it out by tracing the Burmese name into the Pali, and from the Pali to the Sanscrit. The same is true of many other famous cities and countries. \* \* \* \* \*

"I do not think that the Pali is quite understood yet. Prinsep mentions '*bhavati, asti*, is, following closely on the Sanscrit etymology,' as found at Gujerat, while at Cuttack 'we have *hoti, athi*, as in the modern Pali.\* In the Pali books before me I have: Pres. *ati*, he, she or it is; Imperf. *ase*, he, she, or it was; Perf. *pabhawa*, he, she or it has been. In another place he remarks: '*Idha*, the Pali form of *iha*.'† But both forms exist in the Pali. Pali is much more copious than the *savans* are aware, though not to be compared with the Sanscrit. \* \* \* \* \*

"Prinsep did wonders, but he did not live to finish his work. His translation of Asoka's edicts is very incomplete and obscure. He sometimes mistook the letters of his text. For instance, he says, 'The conjunction  $\bigcirc$ , *va*, seems to be used for "and," as frequently as *vá* for "or."‡ No such conjunction exists in the Pali, so far as I am acquainted with it; but  $\bigcirc$ , *cha*, is in exceedingly common use for "and," and Prinsep has unquestionably mistaken the character.

"It is very difficult to obtain any thing accurate without going to the fountain-heads of knowledge. While I am writing, a periodical comes in containing an article from M. Bigandet of Penang, on the ceremonies at the ordination of a Buddhist priest.§ He is a very clever man; I was personally acquainted with him at Tavoy some years ago, and he has a very passable knowledge of the Burmese language. Still the article is very inaccurate. I have the original Pali which is always used in the ceremony. Bigandet says in one place that the candidate is asked: 'Art thou a man?' Answ. 'I am.' 'Art thou a true and legiti-

\* See *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. Vol. vii. p. 277.—  
COMM. OF PUBL.

† Ibid., p. 249.—COMM. OF PUBL. ‡ Ibid., p. 279.—COMM. OF PUBL.

§ See *Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia*. Vol. iv.  
p. 505, ff.—COMM. OF PUBL.

mate son?" Answ. 'I am.' Now the Pali reads: 'Art thou a man? Yes, [my] lord. Art thou a male? Yes, [my] lord.' Again, Bigandet says that the priest is told he may wear 'the following articles: cotton and silk, or cloth of red or yellow wool.' The Pali has: "linen, cotton, silk, woollen, Bengal flax, (i. e. *crotonia* fibre,) and hemp." The mode of rendering the Burmese and Pali names of natural productions is preposterous. I will enclose you a preface to a work that I have recently published in which I have shown it up.\*

"I beg you to excuse this rambling letter, written *currente calamo*."

## VALUABLE ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS,

AT WORCESTER, MASS.

THE Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass., contains a small collection of Arabic Manuscripts, among which are the following:

1. كتاب نغاس العراءس فى قصص القرآن  
 العظیم وسیر الانبیاء i. e. *The Book of the Valuables of Books, respecting the Narratives of the great Kurân and the Lives of the Prophets*, by Abû Ishâk Ahmed Ibn Muḥammed Ibn Ibrâhîm Et'h-Tha'leby. Date, A. H. 1126, i. e. A. D. 1714-15.

The author of this work is spoken of by Ibn Khallikân as having been "before all others of his time in the science of the interpretation of the Kurân." He died, according to Ibn Khallikân and Hajî Khalfâ, A. H. 427, i. e. A. D. 1035-6. S. De Slane's *Diction. Biogr. d' Ibn Khallikân*, pp. 30-1, and Flügel's *Hajî Khalfae Lexicon*, Vol. iv. p. 195.

2. Another copy of the same, wanting two or three pages at the end.

This MS. adds Nisabury, i. e. of Nisâbûr, to the name of the author.

\* The title of this work is *The Natural Productions of Burmah, or Notes on the Fauna, Flora, and Minerals of the Tenasserim Provinces, and the Burman Empire* by Rev. Francis Mason, A. M., Corr. Member of the Boston Society of Natural History, and of the Lyceum of Natural History, New York. Maulsman, 1850.—COMM OF PUBL.

8. The first part (الجزء الأول) of أنوار التنزيل وأسرار i. e. *The Lights of the Letter of Revelation, and the Mysteries of the Allegorical Sense*, by Abdallah Ibn 'Omar El-Beidhâwy. Date, A. H. 1069, i. e. A. D. 1658-9.

This is El-Beidhâwy's highly esteemed commentary on the Kurân, as far the eighteenth chapter inclusive. The author died, according to Haji Khalfa, A. H. 685, or 692, i. e. A. D. 1286-7, or 1292-3. S. Fluegel's *H. K. Lex.* Vol. i, pp. 469, ff.

4. فتوح الجليل ببيان خفي أنوار التنزيل i. e. *The Opening of the Glorious (Book,) by an exposition of that which is obscure in the Lights of the Letter of Revelation*, by Zakariyâ El-Anşârî. Date, A. H. 1057, i. e. A. D. 1647-8.

This work, consisting of glosses on El-Beidhâwy's commentary on the Kurân, is honorably mentioned by Hap Khalfa, according to whom the author died A. H. 910, i. e. A. D. 1504-5. S. Fluegel's *H. K. Lex.* Vol. i, p. 474. The MS. wants about a page at the beginning.

5. الجزء الأول من الجامع الصحيح من حديث رسول الله i. e. *The First Part of the Perfect Compend of the Tradition of the Prophet of God*, by Abû 'Abdallah Muhammed Ibn Isma'il Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn El-Mughairah El-Bukhârî. Without date.

This is El-Bukhârî's celebrated collection of traditions, as far as كتاب الصوم i. e. *The Book of Fasting*, including only the beginning of the latter.

6. The same work, from بنيان الكعبة i. e. *The Building of the Ka'bel*, to كتاب الأضاحي i. e. *The Book of the Sacrifices of the Morning-hour*, including only a portion of the latter.

This and the preceding are distinct parts of the same work.

7. كتاب الشفاء بتعريف حقوق المصطفى i. e. *the Book of Healing, by making known the Rights of the Elect (Proph-*

et.) by Abû 'Iyâdh Ibn Mûsa Ibn 'Iyâdh El-Yahsaby Es-Sabty, El-Mâlikî, or, as he is also called in this MS., Abû Fadhl 'Iyâdh Ibn Mûsa Ibn 'Iyâdh El-Yahsaby.

Hajî Khalfâ says of this work, "It is a book of great utility and much profit, the like of which has not been composed under Islâm." The author died, according to Hajî Khalfâ, A. H. 544, i. e. A. D. 1149-50. S. Fluegel's *H. K. Lex.* Vol. iv. pp. 56-8. This MS. wants a small portion of the last Book.

### 8. الجزء الأول من الرواجر عن اقتراف الكبائر,

i. e. *The First Part of the Monitions against the commission of Great Crimes*, by Ahmed Ibn Muhammed Ibn Hajr El-Misry El-Mekky Esh-Shâfi'iy. Without date.

### 9. كتاب السبعيات في مواظ البريات i. e. *The*

*Book of the Seven-fold, having respect to admonitions of creatures*, by Abû Nasr Muhammed Ibn 'Abd Er-Rahmân El-Hamadâny. Date, A. H. 1104, i. e. A. D. 1692-3.

A work on the meaning of the several days of the week. Hajî Khalfâ mentions it. S. Fluegel's *H. K. Lex.* Vol. iii, p. 579.

### 10. كتاب خريدة العجائب وفريدة الغرائب, i. e.

*The Book of the Whole Pearl of Wonders, and the Precious Gem of Remarkable Things*, by 'Omar El-Muzaffar Ibn Muhammed Ibn 'Omar El-Wardy, or, as he is also called in this MS. Abû Hafâdh 'Omar Ibn El-Muzaffar Ibn Muhammed Ibn 'Omar El-Wardy. Date, A. H. 1116 (?) i. e. A. D. 1704-5.

A valuable work. The author died, according to Hajî Khalfâ, A. H. 749, i. e. A. D. 1348-9. S. Fluegel's *H. K. Lex.* Vol. iii. p. 132. This MS. is defective towards the end.

11. Another copy of the same. Date, A. H. 1142, i. e. A. D. 1729-30.

12. البقعات, i. e. *The Sittings*, by Abû Muhammed El-Kâsim Ibn Muhammed Ibn 'Othmân El-Haîry El-Basry. Without date.

## NATIVE PRINTING IN INDIA.

A Missionary Printer of the American Board, writing from Madras under date of March 13, 1850, says:

“The increase of native presses, within a few years, is so remarkable that I, a few days back, requested my writer to make a statement of them, and the result of his inquiries is here given. The list is not complete, but the following have been reported:

In Madras, Royapooram, Pursuvalkinn and  
Chintadrepettah, twenty-one establishments,  
with twenty-six wooden presses, and five iron  
presses;—total, thirty-one.

These are owned exclusively by natives, Moodeliars, Sāstris, and others, and are occupied in printing the Buratham and various other Hindu books, small and large, together with school-books. *The Crescent*, a newspaper entirely in English, is published at one of the presses, and devoted to the Hindu interest. The editor is a European of talent. A large English and Telugu Dictionary was lately printed at one of these presses. Many of them have both Tamil and Telugu types.”

### THE LATEST

## SANSKRIT PUBLICATIONS IN INDIA.

A letter to the Corresponding Secretary from Prof. Fitz-Edward Hall of Benares, under date of August 30, 1850, contains the following list of Sanskrit books very recently published, or about to appear, in India.

At Benares: *Amara Kōsha*, (in press.)  
*Sri Bhagavāta Purana*, (unfinished.)  
*Ashtādhyāyī*, (very badly done.)  
*Sikshā*, (an elementary Sanskrit grammar.)  
*Parāsari*, (on astrology.)

Siva Mahimnastava, by Sushpadanta.

Mēghadūta, with Mallinātha's gloss.

Pārthiva Pūjana, (prayers to Mahādēva.)

At Indore : Viṣṇu Sahasra Nāma.

Siva Mahimnastava.

Pantcharatna, (extracts from the Vēdas, etc.)

Sāmadrika, (on chiromancy.)

Also, at Benares : The Sarāswata Grammar.

At Benares, has also appeared the Tatwa Samāsa, the original source of the doctrines of the Sāṅkhya school of Hindū philosophy. This is edited, with a translation, by Dr. Ballantyne, of the Benares College. Prof. Hall, however, informs us that he had "had the good fortune, within a few days, to discover a second MS., from which Dr. Ballantyne will probably prepare a sheet of various readings, additions, and corrections." It will be remembered that Colebrooke refers to this work in his Essays on the Philosophy of the Hindūs, with a doubt whether the text was extant, or not.\*

## JEW S IN CHINA.

BY a communication from Dr. E. C. Bridgman, dated Shanghai, Jan. 18, 1851, it appears that eight Hebrew manuscripts have been brought to that place from Kaifung-fu, in the province of Honan, six of them being sections xxi. xxiii. xxx. xxxvii. xlvii. liii. of the Mosaic Law, as usually divided by the Jews, and the other two containing parts of the Jewish liturgy. The travellers, two native Christians, who brought the manuscripts, are said to confirm the earlier accounts concerning the Jews in Kaifung-fu, and to furnish also some additional particulars.

It has been suggested that these Jews, as they have been separated from their brethren for a long period, may be of the ten tribes, and that their manuscripts for the same reason

\* See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. i p 233.—COMM. OF PUBL.

may be Ante-Masoretic, a circumstance which would give them great value. There is a tradition also that they have the two books of Maccabees, and perhaps other apocryphal books, in the original Hebrew, the existence of which has been a matter of great uncertainty. These points will soon be determined.

In any case it is interesting to observe their general identity of character with their western brethren, praying like them towards Jerusalem, the city of the great king; their great tenacity of life, having been on the eve of extinction for two hundred and fifty years; and the wonderful manner in which, after having been an object of unavailing research to the learned of Europe for several centuries, they have now become accessible, by a political change in the external relations of China.

# ERRATA.

- Page 7, for (*Pesth.*) in Hungary read (*Pesth. in Hungary*).  
 " 37, " *innkeeper* " *innkeeper*  
 " 119, " *Ul Khadre* " *Ul Khadr*  
 " 137, " *Uphanishads* " *Upa nishads*  
 " 285, " *And the sum of his system was that which took the precedence,* read *And the sum of his system was that which has been before stated.*  
 Page 306, for ἀρχή read ἀρχή  
 " 312, " *place* " *Place.*





PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY  
PREPARED FROM THE RECORDS  
1849—50.



# PROCEEDINGS.

## ANNUAL MEETING,

HELD MAY 16, 1849, IN BOSTON.

### FIRST SESSION.

Hon E. EVERETT in the Chair:

The Treasurer presented his annual report, which was accepted.

A catalogue of the library, prepared by the Librarian, was laid upon the table.

Certain supplementary by-laws were adopted, organizing a Classical Section of the Society, under the supervision of a Secretary, for the promotion of classical studies, so far as they bear upon the objects of the Society.

A re-draft of the whole Constitution, as amended in 1848-9, was read and adopted.\*

A report was submitted by the committee on Rev. Mr. Merri-  
ck's version of the *Hayât ul-Kulûb*, stating that it was probable the work could be printed entire without expense to the Society, but, whether this should be done, or not, recommending that some account of the work be given in the next Number of the Journal of the Society, together with a chapter of it. This report was accepted.†

Presentations to the library were made, in behalf of various donors, and the thanks of the Society for them, voted.

\* See the Constitution herewith published

† The work here referred to was afterwards published entire by Phillips, Sampson & Co, Boston.

The following persons were elected officers for 1849-50.

Prof. E. ROBINSON, *President*.

Rev. Dr. W. JENKS,  
Prof. M. STUART,  
Pres. WOOLSEY, } *Vice-Presidents*.

E. E. SALISBURY, *Corr. Secretary*.

Prof. C. BECK, *Secretary of Classical Section*.

C. SHORT, *Rec. Secretary*.

W. W. GREENOUGH, *Treasurer*.

F. GARDNER, *Librarian*.

Rev. Dr. R. ANDERSON,  
Prof. C. BECK,  
Prof. B. B. EDWARDS,  
Prof. C. C. FELTON,  
Rev. T. PARKER, } *Directors*.

SECOND SESSION.

Pres. WOOLSEY in the Chair.

Prof. B. B. Edwards read a critique on Chevalier Bunsen's view of the antiquity of Egyptian civilization, as developed in his *Egyptens Stelle in der Welt-Geschichte*.\*

Prof. C. C. Felton spoke of some of the results of the latest investigations respecting the antiquities of Etruria, with especial reference to the works of Gerhard and Dennis.

Rev. T. Parker read and commented upon some extracts from Rev. Mr. Merrick's translation of the *Hayat ul-Kulub*, on the life and doctrines of Muhammed.

Mr. S. HERNISZ read part of a chapter of the *Se Jin Kwei Ching Tung Tsuen Chren*, a Chinese historical novel, descriptive of the times of the Tang dynasty, translated by himself.

Letters were read, as follows

From Prof. RUTH, dated Tuebingen, November 12, 1848.

From Prof. LASSEN, dated Bonn, August 16, 1848. Prof. L. notifies that Prof. Burnouf of Paris has been printing an account of certain discoveries of his, relative to the cuneiform inscriptions of Nineveh; but the work has not yet been published.

From Rev. Dr. BRIDGMAN, dated Shanghai, November 8, 1848. Dr. B. speaks of having sent home for the Society an exact copy of an impression from the stone itself, of the celebrated Chinese inscription of Sungan Fu, erected A.D. 781, and observes that the copy published by Kiecher, in his *China illustrata*, will

\* This paper was afterwards published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. vi. pp. 709, ff.

be found to be slightly erroneous. He also corrects the date of the monument, and the number of the characters, as given in vol. xiv. of the *Chinese Repository*.

From *Rev. J. T. Jones*, dated Bangkok, December 27, 1848. Mr. J. hopes to be able to throw some new light on the psychology and moral system of the Buddhists. A translation of the New Testament into Siamese, by himself, was printed in 1842. The same year, a brief grammar of the Siamese, by Mr. J. and his associates, was issued; and a dictionary of the language is in preparation. Mr. J. designs undertaking a translation of the Old Testament into Siamese; and was to commence a thorough revision of his translation of the New Testament, in 1849.

From *Mr. J. P. Brown*, dated Pera, November 1, 1848, and Constantinople, March 5, 1849, with a list of the books published at Constantinople in 1848, and a translation of the index to Et-Tabary's *Annals*.

## SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING.

HELD OCTOBER 24, 25, 1849, IN NEW HAVEN.

### FIRST SESSION.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair :

Letters from gentlemen acknowledging their election into the Society were read, as follows :

From *Prof. A. Crosby*, of Boston; *Tutor E. A. Sophocles*, of Cambridge, Mass.; *Rev. F. De W. Ward*, of Geneseo, N. Y., late missionary in India; *Lieut. W. F. Lunch*, U. S. N.; and *Mr. F. E. Hall*, of Calcutta. Mr. H. announces that he has discovered a large quantity of new materials for Hindi and Hindustani biography and bibliography; and that a liberal grant has been voted to him by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for the purpose of his making for its library a complete collection of memoirs of the poets of India and Persia.

Also, the following letters, namely :

From *Mr. C. B. Welles*, dated Cairo, December 8, 1848. Mr. W. gives information respecting a collection of Egyptian antiquities now for sale by Dr. Abbott in Cairo, which Lepsius and Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson pronounce to be of great value.

From *Prof. Joseph Henry*, dated Washington, June 25, 1849. *Prof. H.* speaks of the possibility that a valuable collection of Egyptian antiquities, made by Col. Cohen, and now in Baltimore, may be deposited in the Smithsonian Institution.

From *H. A. De Forest, M.D.*, dated Beirut, March 29, 1849.

From *Rev. Dr. J. Perkins*, dated Orúmiah, July 3, 1849. *Dr. P.* expects soon to visit Ván, and will communicate to the Society the results of his observations there. He speaks of a recent journey to Mosul and back, across the Kúrdish mountains. He promises a translation by himself, from the Syriac, of a history of Alexander found among the Nestorians.

From the Secretaries of several Missionary Societies, of different denominations, expressing the desire to aid in promoting the objects of the Society, through their missionaries.

From *M. Alexandre Vattemare*, dated New Haven, June 14, 1849, acknowledging the reception of six copies of the First Volume of the Society's Journal, for international exchange.

Presentations to the library were made in behalf of various donors, and the thanks of the Society for them, voted.

*Rev. H. G. O. Dwight*, missionary in Turkey, read an extract from a complete catalogue of the works of the early Fathers existing in the Armenian.

## SECOND SESSION.

The **PRESIDENT** in the Chair:

*Mr. W. W. Turner* read an account of a Japanese romance edited and translated by Dr. Püzmayr of Vienna.

*Prof. J. Hadley* read an essay on the Greek substantive verb, as illustrated by comparison with the Sanskrit and other cognate languages.

The *Corr. Secretary* read a paper by *Rev. W. G. Schauffler*, missionary in Turkey, on Shabbathai Zevi and his followers.

The **PRESIDENT** in the Chair

The *Corr. Secretary* read a translation of several unpublished Arabic fragments, recently found in Syria, relating to the doctrines of the Isma'iliyyeh and other Batinite sects.

The *Corr. Secretary* read some notes of a tour in Mount Lebanon, and to the eastern side of Lake Huleh, by *H. A. De Forest, M.D.*, missionary in Syria.

The *Corr. Secretary* spoke of an affinity between the alphabet of the Tuareks of North Africa and the Himmjaritic, which he

argued from the characters of the former as first fully exhibited in the *Journal Asiatique* for March, 1849.

The *President* made some remarks on the results of the expedition to the Dead Sea under Lieut. Lynch, compared with previous investigations.

The *Corr. Secretary* spoke of the recent discoveries in the interior of Africa by Rev. Messrs. Krapf and Rebmann, announced in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, vol. iii. p. 310.

Donations to the cabinet were laid upon the table.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

HELD MAY 24, 1850, IN BOSTON AND CAMBRIDGE.

### FIRST SESSION, (in Boston.)

Hon. E. EVERETT in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer presented his annual report, which was accepted.

The Librarian's annual report was called for, but was not presented.

A communication from the Directors, relative to the publication of another Number of the Society's Journal, and the state of the library, was read, and laid upon the table.

The following persons were elected officers for 1850-51.

Prof. E. ROBINSON, *President*.

|                    |                           |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Rev. Dr. W. JENKS, | } <i>Vice-Presidents.</i> |
| Pres. WOOLSEY,     |                           |
| Hon. E. EVERETT,   |                           |

E. E. SALISBURY, *Corr. Secretary*.

Prof. C. BECK, *Secretary of Classical Section*.

C. SHORT, *Rec. Secretary*.

W. W. GREENOUGH, *Treasurer*.

C. FOLSON, *Librarian*.

|                       |                     |
|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Rev. Dr. R. ANDERSON, | } <i>Directors.</i> |
| Prof. C. BECK,        |                     |
| Prof. B. B. EDWARDS,  |                     |
| Prof. C. C. FULTON,   |                     |
| Rev. T. PARKER,       |                     |



On motion of Rev. Mr. Parker, it was voted, that the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Francis Gardner, late librarian of the Society, for his services.

It was also voted, that the Corresponding Secretary be directed to apply to various Societies and individuals, for the purpose of completing sets of works published by such Societies and individuals, some volumes, or parts, of which are now in the library; that the sum of fifty dollars be appropriated from the treasury, for the same object, as soon as practicable; and that he and the Treasurer have power to attend, at their discretion, to the other matters pertaining to the library, mentioned in the communication from the Directors this day made.

Letters from gentlemen acknowledging their election into the Society were read, as follows:

From *Mahā Rāja Apūrva Krishna Bahādur*, of Calcutta; *H. A. De Forest, M.D.*, missionary in Syria; and *H. J. Anderson, M.D.*, of New York.

Also, the following letters, namely:

From *H. A. De Forest, M.D.*, dated Beirût, December 1, 1849. Dr. De F. sends a copy of a common Latin altar-inscription, as the latest exhumation he has heard of in the vicinity of Beirût; also, an impression of a seal found at Beirut, made of stone in the form of a scarabæus.

From *Mr. A. Merwin*, dated New York, January 30, 1850. Mr. M. writes that the copy of the Chinese inscription of Singan Fu, forwarded to his care by Rev. Dr. Bridgman, for the Society, has never come to hand.

Presentations to the library were made in behalf of various donors.

#### SECOND SESSION, (in Cambridge.)

Hon. E. EVERETT in the Chair:

The Corr. Secretary read a contribution to the geography of Central Kurdistan, by *A. Smith, M.D.*, missionary in Turkey.

*Rev. Dr. R. Anderson* gave some account of a recently published Chinese geographical work, relating to foreign countries, from a communication by *Rev. Mr. Pect*, missionary in China.\*

*Rev. T. Parker* read a critique of the principal works published in early and later times, relative to Muhammed.

*Rev. D. T. Stoddard*, missionary in Persia, read extracts from a journal of a tour from Orumiah to Mosul and back, made by *Rev. Dr. Perkins*, in 1849.

*Prof. B. B. Edwards* read an abstract of some inquiries on the Kùrdish language.

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\* See *Missionary Herald*, vol. xlv. pp. 217, ff

The Corr. Secretary read a sketch of the contents and characteristics of Hindû literature, by *Rev. F. De W. Ward*, of Geneseo, N. Y.

The following memorandum for the consideration of the Society was presented by *Rev. W. M. Thomson*, missionary in Syria, and laid upon the table.

"On the propriety of appointing a committee to prepare questions and suggestions to guide and assist missionaries and other correspondents of the Society in their efforts to promote the objects which it contemplates.

"This committee might be sufficiently large to allow of division into sub-committees, to each of which should be assigned a particular country, language, or department of inquiry. They would ascertain, as far as possible, what is already known of their particular field, on all the subjects which come within the range of the Society's investigations, what points require farther elucidation, what information in respect to the geography, topography, geology, history, antiquities, literature, religion, manners and customs, agriculture, useful arts, &c. &c., it is desirable to collect, and what kind of manuscripts, books, inscriptions, coins, and curiosities, it is important to obtain and transmit to the Society.

"A series of judicious, well matured questions and suggestions, based upon such a survey and examination, would give definiteness to the researches of missionaries and travellers in the East, would teach them how, and what, to observe, and by assuring them that their labors were in the right direction, would awaken and sustain an interest on their own part in the matter, and encourage them to draw up and communicate what information they might be able to collect. For want of some such stimulant and guide, many intelligent eyes now gaze vacantly, for years, on objects of the greatest interest to the religious and scientific world, and many travellers wander over the very birth place of man, of religion, science and art, of commerce and civilization, with little profit either to themselves, or to others.

"To prepare such questions and suggestions, properly, would of itself be an admirable study for those composing the committees, and as communications and contributions should come back in reply to them, the members of the Society would be able to form an intelligent estimate of the progress made toward realizing the objects of the association. It might be well, before the questions are printed, for each sub-committee to correspond with gentlemen at home and abroad who are best acquainted with the field assigned to it.

"If such a prompter and guide were ready to be placed in the hand of any member of the Society in foreign lands, and of any intelligent gentleman as he sets out to travel, the meetings and publications of the Society, it is believed, would be rendered much more interesting and valuable."

# SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING.

HELD OCTOBER 16, 17, 1850, IN NEW HAVEN.

## FIRST SESSION.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair :

Letters from gentlemen acknowledging their election into the Society were read, as follows :

From *Rev. J. C. Bryant*, missionary in South Africa ; *Mr. W. A. Macy*, of New Haven ; *Prof. J. A. Spencer*, of Burlington, N. J. ; *Rev. Dr. S. L. Pomroy*, of Boston ; and *Rev. L. Grout*, missionary in South Africa. Mr. G. notices the recent printing of an extensive and valuable grammar of the Kafir language, in the Old Colony, (Kafir-land,) and states that a committee has been appointed by the Mission with which he is connected, to prepare a grammar of the Zulu.

Also, the following letters, namely :

From *Prof. C. A. Holmboe*, dated Christiania, March 1, 1850.

From *Prof. C. Lassen*, dated Bonn, May 26, 1850. Prof. L.

now thinks it more probable that the cuneiform  $\Sigma$  has the value of *m* before *u*, which Rawlinson assigns to it ;\* and he now considers the character  $\text{III}^*$  as representing *th*, " which gives a more probable form of the imperative" in  $\text{III}^* \text{uwa}^\dagger$ .

From *Rev. Dr. D. Poor*, without date.

*Prof. C. Beck* reported encouragingly with respect to an effort for the increase of the Society's pecuniary resources.

The *Corr. Secretary* reported that most of the imperfect sets of books in the library of the Society, would soon be completed by donation and purchase ; and gave notice that the library is now deposited in the Boston Athenaeum Building.

Presentations to the library were made in behalf of various donors, and the thanks of the Society for them, voted.

\* See *Journal of Am. Or. Soc.* vol. i p. 529.

† See *Journal of Am. Or. Soc.* vol. i p. 533, and pp. 551, 557, where *puidwa* should have been written *patura*.

The memorandum by Rev. W. M. Thomson, laid upon the table at the last meeting, having been taken up, was referred to the Directors.

*Prof. J. W. Gibbs* laid before the Society a plan proposed by Rev. Lewis Grout and others, American missionaries in South Africa, for effecting an uniform orthography of the South-African dialects; and moved the following resolution, which, after some remarks in favor of the plan, by *Rev. W. Walker*, missionary in West Africa, was adopted:

That this Society have heard with interest the statement of a plan proposed by the American missionaries in Southern Africa, for effecting an uniform orthography of the various languages in that part of the globe; that they regard the objects to be attained by such plan, direct and indirect, as very important to the interests of literature and humanity; and would express their earnest hope and wish that the measures proposed may be carried into full execution.

*Prof. Gibbs* also laid before the Society an essay on the Dakota, or Sioux language, by *Rev. T. S. Williamson, M.D.*, missionary among the Sioux.

*Mr. W. W. Turner* presented and explained a paradigm of the regular verb in the modern Syriac, or the Nestorian dialect, drawn up by himself; and also made some general remarks on this dialect, and on the character of the translation of the New Testament into it, made and printed by the American missionaries at Orúmah.

#### SECOND SESSION.

The PRESIDENT in the Chair:

*Rev. H. R. Hoisington*, missionary in Ceylon, read a paper on the leading doctrines of the Sâvas, as set forth in the *Sira-Gnâna-Pôtham*, one of the sacred books of Southern India, of the highest authority.

*Rev. W. Walker*, missionary in West Africa, read a comparison of some features of the Mpongwe and Bakêlê dialects, showing them to be nearly related to each other; and noticed their common affinity to the Zulu, with which he supposes the Pangwe, a dialect spoken by a tribe which has approached the western coast within ten years, to be in still closer relationship.

*Rev. Dr. D. Poor*, missionary in Ceylon, read a brief sketch of the origin, and progress during the first twelve years, of the Seminary for Tamil youth at Batticotta, in the province of Jaffna, on that island.

*Prof. C. Beck* gave some account of Mommsen's recent work on the South-Italian dialects, and particularly of that part of it which relates to the Oscans and their language.

*Rev. W. H. Steele*, missionary in Borneo, made some remarks on the Dyaks, and on their language as compared with the Malay.

*Rev. D. T. Stoddard*, missionary in Persia, spoke of a recent tour from Mosul to Orúmiah by the way of Ravandûz, made by *Rev. Mr. Marsh*, missionary at Mosul. *Mr. Marsh* visited a monument alluded to by *Dr. Perkins*, under date of May 1, in his journal presented to the Society at its last meeting, but not visited by him, which stands on the highest part of the mountain-range dividing Turkey from Persia. He found it to be "an oval slab of dark granite, not unlike many an old tomb-stone in a New England grave-yard, not over ten or twelve feet high, including the pedestal, and inscribed with the arrow-headed characters of the remains at Koyunjik and Nimrood."

*Prof. J. W. Gibbs* made some remarks on the unity of origin of our race, as proved by philological investigations.

The *President* made some remarks on the forth-coming report on the geology of Palestine by *Dr. H. J. Anderson*, and on the progress and present state of our literature of that country.

The *Corr. Secretary* presented to the Society, in behalf of the author, a treatise on Arabic versification by *Rev. C. V. A. Van Dyck*, missionary in Syria.

### THIRD SESSION.

*Prof. BECK* in the Chair:

The *Corr. Secretary* presented to the Society, in behalf of the translator, a continuation of *Et-Tabary's* history of the conquest of Persia by the Arabs, translated from the Turkish version of *Et-Tabary's Annals*, by *Mr. J. P. Brown*, of Constantinople; also, another extract from the same work, translated by the same.

He also read a paper on Chinese culture, by *Rev. S. R. Brown*, of Rome, N. Y., late missionary in China.

He also made some remarks on the results arrived at by *Loewenstern*, *Botta*, and *Rawlinson*, in their works on the Assyrian cuneiform character.

RE-DRAFT  
OF THE  
CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY,  
ADOPTED MAY 16, 1849,  
AND  
CATALOGUE OF MEMBERS  
IN  
1850.



## CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

ART. I. This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

ART. II. The objects contemplated by this society shall be :

1. The cultivation of learning in the Asiatic, African and Polynesian languages, as well as the encouragement of researches of any sort by which the knowledge of the East may be promoted.

2. The cultivation of a taste for oriental studies in this country.

3. The publication of memoirs, translations, vocabularies, and other communications presented to the Society, which may be valuable with reference to the before-mentioned objects.

4. The collection of a library and cabinet.

ART. III. The members of this Society shall be distinguished as corporate, corresponding, and honorary. Corporate members shall be residents of the United States ; Americans or others, residing in any foreign country, with whom the Society may desire to hold communication, shall be eligible as corresponding members ; foreigners of distinction, as well as residents in the United States, may be elected honorary members.

ART. IV. All candidates for membership must be proposed by the Directors, at some stated meeting of the Society, and no person shall be elected a member of either class, without receiving the votes of as many as three-fourths of all the members present at the meeting.

ART. V. The government of the Society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, a Librarian, and five Directors, who shall be annually elected by ballot, at the annual meeting.

ART. VI. The President and Vice-Presidents shall perform the customary duties of such officers, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors.



**ART. VII.** The Secretaries and the Treasurer shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall perform their respective duties under the superintendence of said Board.

**ART. VIII.** It shall be the duty of the Board of Directors to regulate the financial concerns of the Society, to superintend its publications, to carry into effect the resolutions and orders of the Society, and to exercise a general supervision over its affairs. Three Directors at any regular meeting shall be a quorum for doing business.

**ART. IX.** An annual meeting of the Society shall be held in Boston, during the month of May, the day of the meeting to be determined by the Directors. One or more other meetings, at the discretion of the Directors, shall also be held each year, in Boston, or at such other place, and at such time as the Directors shall determine.

**ART. X.** This Constitution may be amended, on a recommendation of the Directors, by a vote of three-fourths of the members present at an annual meeting.

## BY-LAWS.

I. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the Society, and it shall be his duty to keep in a book provided for the purpose, a copy of his letters.

II. The Recording Secretary shall keep a record of the proceedings of the Society in a book provided for the purpose, and shall notify the meetings in such manner as the President, or the Board of Directors, shall direct.

III. The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds of the Society, and his investments, deposits, and payments shall be made under the superintendence of the Board of Directors. At each annual meeting he shall report the state of the finances, with a brief summary of the receipts and payments of the previous year.

IV. The Librarian shall keep a catalogue of all books belonging to the Society, with the names of the donors, if they are presented, and shall at each annual meeting make a report of the accessions to the library during the previous year, and shall be farther guided in the discharge of his duties by such rules as the Directors shall prescribe.

V. All papers read before the Society, and all \_\_\_\_\_ deposited by authors for publication, or for other purposes, shall be at the disposal of the Board of Directors.

VI. Each corporate member shall pay into the treasury of the Society, on his admission, the sum of five dollars, together with an annual assessment of two dollars; but a donation at any one time of fifty dollars shall exempt from obligation to make either of these payments.

VII. Six members shall form a quorum for doing business, and three to adjourn.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY BY-LAWS FOR THE CLASSICAL SECTION.

1. The classical scholars who are members of the Society, shall constitute a Classical Section of the Society, for the promotion of classical learning so far as it bears upon the objects of the Society.

2. In order to promote an interest in this department of the Society, there shall be a Secretary of the Classical Section, elected by ballot at each annual meeting.

3. The Secretary of the Classical Section shall be especially charged to secure the design of the same, so far as it is possible, by collecting and imparting information, by suggestions, and by other means.

4. The Secretary of the Classical Section shall be *ex officio* a member of the Board of Directors, and shall perform his duties under the superintendence of the said Board.

**MEMBERS**  
**OF THE**  
**AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY**  
**IN**  
**1850.**

**CORPORATE MEMBERS.**

|                             |                    |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Dr HENRY J. ANDERSON,       | New York.          |
| Rev Dr. RUFUS ANDERSON,     | Boston             |
| Prof. ETHAN A. ANDREWS,     | New Britain, Ct.   |
| Prof CHARLES BECK,          | Cambridge, Mass.   |
| Rev HIRAM BINGHAM,          | Chester, Mass.     |
| Rev. ISAAC BIRD,            | Hartford.          |
| Rev. SAMUEL R. BROWN,       | Rome, N. Y.        |
| ELIHU BURRITT,              | Worcester, Mass.   |
| ALEXANDER I. COTHEAL,       | New York.          |
| Prof ALPHEUS CROSBY,        | Boston.            |
| Hon. CALEB CUSHING,         | Newburyport, Mass. |
| Rev GEORGE E. DAY,          | Northampton, Mass. |
| Epis S. DIXWELL,            | Cambridge, Mass.   |
| JOHN J. DIXWELL,            | Boston             |
| *PIERRE S. DUPONCEAU,       | Philadelphia.      |
| Rev Dr BELA B. EDWARDS,     | Andover, Mass.     |
| Prof ROMEO ELSON,           | Exeter, England.   |
| *Hon. ALEXANDER H. EVERETT, | Boston.            |
| Hon. EDWARD EVERETT,        | Cambridge, Mass.   |
| Prof CORNELIUS C. FELTON,   | " "                |
| CHARLES FOLSON,             | " "                |
| JOHN M. FORBES,             | Boston.            |
| FRANCIS GARDNER,            | "                  |
| Prof JORIAN W. GIBBS,       | New Haven.         |

GEORGE B. GLIDSON,  
 Rev. DAVID GRUBER,  
 WILLIAM W. GREENOUGH  
 Prof. JAMES HADLEY,  
 RICHARD K. HARGETT,  
 HORATIO E. HALE.  
 Prof. FITZ-EDWARD HALL,  
 Prof. GUESNER HARRISOT,  
 Rev. Dr. FRANCIS L. HAWES,  
 STANISLAS HERNISE,  
 WILLIAM B. HODGSON,  
 JAMES J. JARVES,  
 \*Rev. Dr. S. FARMAR JARVIS,  
 JOSEPH W. JENKS,  
 Rev. Dr. WILLIAM JENES,  
 Prof. O. C. JEWETT,  
 Prof. JAMES L. KINGSLEY,  
 CHARLES KRAITSIR,  
 Prof. FRANCIS LIEBER,  
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The Life of Joseph Balsamo, commonly called Count Cagliostro. London: 1791.

Manuscript of four leaves, written in Oriental characters, on the Tallpot palm-leaf.

Three bronze Chinese toilet-ornaments.

*Presented by Donors unknown.*

The following articles were overlooked, or not properly acknowledged, in the preparation of the former lists:

Portrait de Christophe Colomb. (From the Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, Juin, 1845.)

*Presented by M. E. Jomard.*

A MS. in ancient Turkish.—Mukaddemeh, i. e. Introduction, by Kotb-ed-dîn En-Nikidy El-Izniky. Without date, perfect. A Mohammedan catechism; the oldest work of this sort in Turkish literature, and still one of the most approved.

Kitâb Shurût es-Salât, i. e. Book of the Conditions of Prayer. Constantinople: A. H. 1219, i. e. A. D. 1804-5.

Sherh Tohfet el-Mendhûmet ed-Durriyeh fy Loghat el-Fârisiyet ed-Dâriyeh, i. e. Commentary on the Present of the String of Pearls, respecting the Persian Court-language, by Ahmed Hayatî Effendi. Constantinople: A. H. 1215, i. e. A. D. 1800-1.

An Arabic MS.—An abridgment by the original author of Ghunyet el-Mubtely, i. e. The Satisfaction of the Afflicted One, which is a commentary, by Ibrâhîm Ibn Muhammed Ibn Ibrâhîm el-Haleby, on

Munyet el-Musally, i. e. The Desire of the Praying One. Dated A. H. 1199, i. e. A. D. 1764-5, perfect.

*Presented by J. G. Schwarz, U. S. Consul at Vienna.*

A MS.—Copy of a few chapters of the Book of Genesis, translated into the Sooahelee Language, by Dr. Krapf.

*Presented by Richard P. Waters.*

A Sermon, in Tamil, on Isaiah xlv. 22, supposed to be written by the Jesuit missionary Robertus. Printed in 1819.

A Tamil Tract, in two Parts :—I. Questions addressed to Trinitarian Ministers, on the doctrine of the Trinity. By a Unitarian. II. A Dialogue on the same subject. Printed in 1822.

*Presented by the Hon. Sidney Willard.*

Report of the Library-Committee of Congress on the Exploring Expedition.

*Presented by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop.*

Wänëgielë Kedûsë Iyäsûsë Kërësëtôsë, i. e. The Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ. (In Ethiopi.) London: 1826.

*Presented by Richard P. Waters.*

[This book was erroneously acknowledged, in Vol. I. No. III. as a donation from *William C. Waters, Esq.*]

## II. BY PURCHASE.

The following books have been purchased, by vote of the Society, to complete imperfect sets in the Library :

Indische Alterthumskunde von Christian Lassen. Ersten Bandes 1te Hälfte. Bonn: 1843.

Hamasaë Carmina edidit G. W. Freytag. Tomus I. Bonnæ: 1828.

Hamzaë Ispahanensis Annalium Libri X. edidit J. M. E. Gottwaldt. Tomus II. Lipsiæ; 1848.

Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg. VI<sup>m</sup>e Série. Sciences, Histoire, Philologie. Tomi I—VII. St. Petersbourg: 1830—1848.

Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Petersbourg. Tomi II—VII., VIII. fasc. 1—6. St. Petersbourg: 1845—1850.

Verhandlungen der 1<sup>ten</sup>, 2<sup>ten</sup>, 3<sup>ten</sup>, 4<sup>ten</sup>, 6<sup>ten</sup>, 7<sup>ten</sup>, 8<sup>ten</sup>, 10<sup>ten</sup> Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner.

CHARLES FOLSOM, *Librarian.*











